THE ELEVENTH CENTURY BACKGROUND OF CITEAUX

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PREFACE

From its beginnings in 1098, Cîteaux has always occupied a place of prominence in monastic annals and in history in general. Responsible for this is not only Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, the oracle of the twelfth century, and the radiance of subsequent Cistercian ventures, but, in a very real sense, the greatness of its founders, eminent in both mind and spirit. A right understanding of Cîteaux presupposes therefore a familiarity with its beginnings: with the lives, ideals and untiring labors of its pioneers, recorded in truly remarkable contemporary documents. Convinced of this long ago, historians have produced a number of ground-breaking studies on the subject. But because they restricted themselves to early Cîteaux irrespectively of the contemporary monastic world and related religious factors, the outcome of their efforts was, inevitably, an incomplete picture, a product in isolation lacking its proper setting.

It is at this juncture that the present dissertation steps in, with its aim to supply this missing setting. It purports to look into the widely ramified monastic milieu and general religious background of Cîteaux, in order to provide both focus and perspective for the events surrounding 1098 and, moreover, to facilitate the task of historians concerned with the correlaries of such investigation. In the absence of works dealing with this aspect of the eleventh century, the latter should well be of service to both the expert and the general reader.

An undertaking of this kind cannot do justice to all. Accordingly, it was not possible to accomodate the uninitiated reader by paying adequate attention to pre-Anianine monachism, or by explaining every monastic term within the given framework. By way of compensation, however, the author makes it a point to render the documentation in English whenever possible. For this reason he translated all foreign language references, excepting only Latin texts in the footnotes, in the belief that the language of Cicero is still mastered with sufficient ease by students of the twentieth century.

It goes without saying, this dissertation, like every other such project, owes much to many. In the first place, the author must express his deepest gratitude to his religious Superior, the Most Reverend Abbot Anselm Nagy, of Our Lady of Dallas Abbey, who made it possible for him to pursue graduate studies and always displayed an encouraging interest in their successful completion. Next he wishes to admit his indebtedness to Fordham University, for sharing with him the benefits

of a recognized place of higher learning, and for the opportunity to be academically guided by scholars of eminence. First to be mentioned among the latter is the author's mentor, Professor Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan, whose guidance, kindness, generosity and patience can never be sufficiently acknowledged. His inspiring scholarship and human greatness will always be a model to this grateful student of his. This gratitude also extends to Professor A. Paul Levack who, as Chairman of the History Department of Fordham University's Graduate School, gave much time and unfailing consideration to the author, and to Professors Charles P. Loughran, S. J., and Joseph F. O'Callaghan, not in the least for reading and evaluating this dissertation.

Proper and heartfelt acknowledgments are also due to Miss Anne Murphy, of Fordham University Library; to the librarians of Union Theological Seminary in New York City; and, in a very special way, to Mr. Travis Jordan, of the Theological Library of Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas, for favors few librarians could afford to grant even to researchers.

In conclusion of these remarks the author wishes to stress his awareness of the fact that a dissertation does not, ordinarily, qualify as "a monument more lasting than brass" (Horace, *Odes*, III, xxx, 1). Hence, he does not view the

present work as an end product, but rather sees in it an obligation to further study and to a continuing search for increasingly clearer historical views.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AS	*Acta Sanctorum* (Bollandiana). Paris, 1863-1867.
CE	*Catholic Encyclopaedia*. New York, 1908-1914.
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum*. Series Latina. Turnholt, 1953ff.
CMH	*Cambridge Medieval History*. New York, 1911-1938.
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. Vienna, 1866ff.
DACL	*Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*. Paris, 1907ff.
DDC	*Dictionnaire du Droit Canonique*. Paris, 1935ff.
DHE	*Dictionnaire d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*. Paris, 1912ff.
DOR	H. Hélyot, *Dictionnaire des ordres réligieux*. Paris, 1847-1859.
DSAM	*Dictionnaire de Spiritualité Ascétique et Mystique*. Paris, 1937ff.
DTC	*Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*. Paris, 1912ff.
EC	*Enciclopedia Cattolica*. Città del Vaticano, 1948-1954.
GCh	*Gallia Christiana*. Paris, 1715ff.
JL	*Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita Ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*. Edited by P. Jaffé and S. Loewenfeld. Leipzig, 1885-1888.
LTK	*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*. Freiburg, 1957-1965.

Mansi	*Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*. Paris, 1901ff.
MGH, SS	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Scriptores. Hannover, 1826ff.
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca*. Paris, 1857-1886.
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina*. Paris, 1844ff.
RHE	*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*. Louvain, 1900ff.
RHF	*Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*. Paris, 1868ff.

CHAPTER I

BENEDICT OF ANIANE AND POST-CAROLINGIAN MONACHISM

It has occasionally been stated, though never sufficiently demonstrated, that Benedict of Aniane was in some respects a fore-runner of Citeaux. The birth of the latter could never be fully understood without a probing of Cluny, nor could the role of this great monastic center be sufficiently explained without reference to the man whose influence on the destinies of monasticism in the West ranks second only to that of the great Benedict: Benedict of Aniane. Benedict's aim of restoring the Benedictine Rule to its proper place in monastic life was also the ideal of the founders of Citeaux, and his ideas on uniformity, centralization and seclusion--to mention only the most obvious--certainly influenced the thinking of the Cistercian pioneers. Hence the importance of Benedict and the need for a discussion of his impact on monastic history.

Benedict of Aniane, really Witiza (Buticius),[1] was born around the middle of the eighth century, of noble Visigothic parents in Aquitaine.[2] After military and court service under Pepin and Charlemagne, he entered the monastery of St. Seine in the vicinity of Dijon. Here he led, for more than

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[1] Benedict's baptismal name was Witiza; this became Buticius in Latin. See Marquard Herrgott, Vetus disciplina monastica seu Collectio Auctorum ordinis S. Benedicti (Parisiis: Typis Caroli Osmont, 1726), 14. According to P. Schmieder, Buticius is simply a translation of Witiza. Cf. Bruno Albers,

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Untersuchungen zu den ältesten Mönchsgewohnheiten. Ein Beitrag zur Benediktinergeschichte des X.-XII. Jahrhunderts (München: Lentner, 1905), 20 n. 3. The monk John of Salerno, biographer of Odo of Cluny, writes of Baume, the motherhouse of Cluny, "Fuerunt autem institutores ejusdem loci imitatores cujusdam patris Eutici." PL 133, 53. Baume however followed the usages of Benedict of Aniane. See ch. II, n. 9. John of Salerno further mentions that Euticius wrote a concordance of various rules and that he was a friend of Louis the Pious who had a monastery built for him near the imperial palace: "Fuit idem vir temporibus Ludovici magni videlicet imperatoris carus regi omnibus quia amabilis. Nam cum esset laicus et peregrinis studiis eruditus, deserens ea unde superbire solet humana fragilitas, totum se dedit beatorum patrum regulis et institutionibus, ex quibus nempe auctoritatibus diversis consuetudines sumpsit unoque volumine colligavit. Deinde non multo post monachus est effectus et in tanto amore apud regem habitus, ut infra palatium illi construeret monasterium." PL 133, 53f. A comparison of John and Ardo, Benedict's biographer, reveals further similarities; hence Mabillon felt safe in stating, "From all this I would not hesitate to assert that Benedict of Aniane is one and the same with abbot Euticius." And B. Albers concludes, "In fact every reasonable doubt should be excluded." *Untersuchungen*, 19f. See also *ibid*., 18.

[2] Benedict's *vita*, the work of his disciple Ardo, is found in PL 103, 353-384 and in MGH, SS. XV, 200-220. Ardo, also called Smaragdus, was a monk, priest and teacher at Aniane, where after a saintly life he died at the age of sixty, in 843. Cf. Josef Narberhaus, *Benedikt von Aniane Werk und Persönlichkeit. Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens*, Heft 16 (Münster i. W.: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1930), 6-8. See also MGH, SS. XV, 198. The *vita* itself was completed in 822 or in the following year. Cf. J. Narberhaus, *op. cit*., 12f. A French translation was procured by M. Classan, *Vie de saint Benoît d'Aniane* (Montpellier, 1876). Short accounts of Benedict's life can be found in DTC, II(1905), 708; DHE, VIII(1935), 178; DSAM, I(1937), 1438; LTK, II(1958), 179 and J. Narberhaus, *op.cit*., 15ff.

two years, a life of great austerity, practicing all kinds of mortifications, fasts, vigils, prayers, silence and was satisfied with the cheapest clothes. He took no baths and found no work degrading, whether it be polishing his confrères' shoes or cleaning the house.[3] Convinced of the superiority of eastern asceticism, he disregarded his abbot's orders to relax his practices and exercises.[4] As Ardo, his biographer, records, Benedict "constantly strove after impossible things."[5] He put aside the Benedictine Rule and followed oriental rules instead, particularly those of Pachomius and Basil.[6] Eventually, however, he was appointed cellerar and, five years after his entrance, abbot of the monastery. But since he found that his attempts to restore the ordo regularis were ill appreciated by his monks, he resigned his office, loath to govern lax subjects, and retired to the paternal grounds in Aquitaine where, in 779, or in the following year, he founded the monastery of Aniane situated in what is today the diocese of Montpellier.[7] The chapel of the new establishment was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, a practice that will find imitators in Cluny, Molesme and Cîteaux.[8]

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[3] PL 103, 356f.

[4] "Cum cogeretur ab abbate parcius erga semetipsum exercere rigorem, assensum minime praebuit." PL 103, 357.

[5] "Jugiter impossibilia rimabat." Ibid.

[6] "Regulam quoque beati Benedicti tironibus seu infirmis positam fore contestans, ad beati Basilii dicta nec non Pachomii regulam scandere nitens..."PL 103, 357. According to Cuthbert Butler, "He had even a contempt of St. Benedict's Rule." Benedictine Monachism. Studies in Benedictine Life and Rule (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1961), 357. Cf. also Edmund Bishop, Liturgica Historica. Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1918), 212.

At first, Benedict did not introduce full Benedictine life, for the monks continued to live by alms and took only bread and water for nourishment,[9] as was done by the monks of the East. Eastern austerity prevailed also in the liturgy, for chalices had to be of wood, later of glass and tin, and the vestments used for Mass of material cheaper than silk.[10]

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[7] PL 103, 358. See also J. Narberhaus, op. cit., 20f.

[8] "Domus enim in eo erat loco quo fundare moliebantur monasterium, quam auctam in honore sanctae Dei genitricis consecrarunt Mariae." PL 103, 360.

[9] "Solo viventes pane et aqua." PL 103, 359. To this may be added their strict asceticism. "Certabant siquidem quis eorum esset...in abstinentia ardentior, in vigiliis anterior...in vestitu vilior, in charitate ferventior: quibusdam etiam revelationes fiebant." Ibid., 361. One should also note their collective poverty. "Non enim ornatis parietibus tegulisque rubentibus, vel pictis laquearibus, sed stramine vilique maceria cooperire vel facere domos decreverat." Ibid., 360.

[10] "Vasa autem ad Christi conficiendum corpus nolebat sibi esse argentea: siquidem primum ei fuerunt lignea, deinceps vitrea; sic tandem conscendit ad stannea; planetam vero refutabat habere sericeam, et si aliquis illi dedisset, mox aliis ad utendum praestabat." PL 103, 360. Cf. also E. Bishop, op cit., 212 and Rose Graham, English Ecclesiastical Studies (London: Society For Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1928), 11.

This enthusiasm for eastern monasticism was certainly connected with the Origenist revival of the ninth century,[11] but did not prove lasting. By the year 787 Benedict became fully convinced that eastern practices were too difficult for the majority of his monks and that the most suited rule for westerners--if not the only one--was that of St. Benedict, noted for its moderation. He introduced full Benedictine life in his abbey[12] and from then on devoted all his energies to the study of the Rule, consulting experts whenever in doubt.[13]

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[11] Jean Leclercq, The Love of Learning and the Desire For God, trans. Catharine Misrahi (New York: New American Library, 1960), 100. See also Michel Mourre, Histoire vivante des moines (Paris: Editions de Centurion, 1965), 279.

[12] "A rigore vero suae primae conversationis paululum declinarat, quoniam impossibile opus assumpserat." PL 103, Cf. ibid., 358: "Coopitulante gratia divina, ut multorum fieret documentum salutis, in amorem praefati viri Benedicti regulae accenditur et veluti de singulari certamine novus athleta ad campum publice pugnaturus accessit." According to P. Schmitz, this marked the fourth stage in Benedict's monastic evolution. Cf. DHE, VIII, 178. Ardo further records on the subject, "nunc, opitulante Christo...quibus modis aliud in eodem loco coenobium aedificaverit, evidenti ratione pandamus." Loc. cit., 363. The introduction of Benedictine life is also seen from a charter of Charlemagne granting immunity to Aniane and the right to have free election of its abbots. PL 103, 366. See also J. Narberhaus, op. cit., 19.

[13] "Omne quippe desiderium suum in observationem Regulae converterat, suumque hoc permaxime erat studium." PL 103, 380. Ibid. we are told, "quos peritos esse compererat, attente sciscitabatur circa longeque positos, eos etiam qui istis in partibus ad montem Casinum accederent." The same appears from ibid., 365: "Dedit autem cor suum ad investigandam beati Benedicti Regulam, eamdemque ut intelligere possit satagere circumiens monasteria, peritos quosque interrogans

He saw his vocation now in the faithful observance of the Rule, which called for the elimination of contrary standards and a withdrawal from the nascent feudal world. He came to realize that the observance of the integral text of the Rule was a strict obligation of every monk binding him in conscience (and wrote his *Concordia Regularum* with such views in mind.)[14]

Benedict was a model abbot. Strict with himself, he showed mildness and consideration to others and was the father of all. In the words of Ardo, he instructed the chanters, taught the readers, had grammarians and Scripture experts around himself, collected a multitude of books[15] and performed works of charity even outside the monastery. His interests soon began to take on wider proportions and ripened into one single ambition, the reform of contemporary Benedictine monasticism.

Already Charlemagne granted immunity and the right of

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quae ignorabat." Cf. also Kolumban Spahr, *De Fontibus constitutivis primigenii juris constitutionalis Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* (Romae: Universitas Lateranensis, 1953), 32.

[14] Stephanus Hilpisch, *Benedictinism Through Changing Centuries*, trans. Leonard Doyle (Collegeville: St. John's Abbey Press, 1958), 34. See also Ursmer Berlière, "L'étude des réformes monastiques des Xe et XIe siècles, "*Académie Royale de Belgique. Bulletin de Classe de Lettres*, 5e série, 18(1932), 138.

[15] "Instituit cantores, docuit lectores, habuit grammaticos et scientia Scripturarum peritos, de quibus etiam quidam post fuere episcopi, aggregavit. Librorum multitudinem congregavit." PL 103, 365.

free election to the monastery of Aniane.[16] Louis the Pious made Benedict the superior of all Benedictine houses in Aquitaine so that he might reform them in accordance with the usages of Aniane.[17] The program rested on Benedict's cooperation with the emperor and was furthered by associates like Leidrad, Theodulph and Alcuin.[18] Its success lay in the example of Benedict who went from monastery to monastery, to explain the Rule and work for free elections and immunity; "to correct the practices of others, to reproach the slothful, to encourage the young, to warn those who have been tested that they go on advancing, and to chastise the untried that they may be corrected."[19]

The influx of vocations brought the number of monks at Aniane to more than a thousand. This made new foundations a necessity. The latter--Ardo calls them "new cells"--were established in solitudes, to keep the monks separated from the world, and their superiors were appointed by Benedict himself.[20]

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[16] See the text in PL 103, 365f.

[17] "Ludovicus rex Aquitanorum...omnibus in suo regno monasteriis praefecit ut norman salutiferam cunctis ostenderet." PL 103, 372. Cf. ibid., 367: "Omnium denique monasteriorum, tam in Provincia quam in Novempolitania provincia consistentium erat quasi nutrix fovens juvansque."

[18] PL 103, 369f. See also E. Bishop, op. cit., 213. J. Narberhaus, op. cit., 40, and M. Mourre, op. cit., 279.

"Coepit aliorum corrigere mores, negligentes arguere, exhortari tirones, ut proficerent admonere probos, ut corrigerentur increpare improbos." PL 103, 358. On Benedict's activities as visitator in Aquitaine, see ibid., 372.

Louis the Pious frequently sought the advice of Benedict who on that account had to undertake long journeys to distant Aachen. The situation improved when Benedict became abbot of Maursmünster and shortly thereafter, i.e. between 815 and 816, abbot of Inde, today's Cornelimünster, built by Louis the Pious some six miles from the imperial palace. This monastery was to be a model for all other houses in the Frankish empire.[21]

The emperor had the renewal of religious life very much at heart. Already in 816 he sponsored a synod at Aachen, for the purpose of improving the life of the canons regular.[22] This was followed, in 817, by another synod of Aachen where, with imperial support, Benedict laid down rules for a uniform observance throughout the empire. These are contained in the so-called capitulare monasticum, made up of some eighty canons defining matters not regulated by the Rule, adding a number of new regulations and dispensing from practices which could no longer be observed. These canons were to be introduced in all

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[20] "Constituit locis congruis cellas, quibus praefectis magistris posuit fratres." PL 103, 369. Cf. also J. Narberhaus, op. cit., 37.

[21] PL 103, 376. See also J. Narberhaus, op. cit., 46.

[22] Mansi XV, 147.

Frankish monasteries and visitors (missi) were to see to their execution. The usages of Inde represented the authentic norm to be copied by all other houses. Benedict supervised the program of reform as general superior, appointed by the emperor "that as he had instructed Aquitaine and Gothia in the norm of salvation so he should also imbue Francia with his salutary example."[23] He worked with untiring zeal until death ended his labors on February 11, 821, in the monastery of Inde.[24]

While E. Sackur saw in Benedict "the stubbornness of fanatical natures,"[25] Ardo characterized his hero as a highly talented man of action: "quick and useful for all things," with clear ideas and sure working habits indicating obvious qualities of leadership. To this came a firm bearing and winning manners coupled with pastoral concerns, and a love of erudition.[26] A man of letters, his writings include the

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[23] "Praefecit eum quoque imperator cunctis in regno suo coenobiis: ut sicut Aquitaniam Gothiamque norma salutis instruxerat, ita etiam Franciam salutifero imbueret exemplo." PL 103, 577.

[24] "Obiit autem septuagenarius, tertio Idus Februarii, anno ab incarnatione Domini octingentesimo vigesimo primo, indictione decima quarta." PL 103, 384. The letter of the monks of Inde announcing Benedict's death is found in MGH, SS XV, 1, 129.

[25] Ernst Sackur, Die Cluniacenser in ihrer kirchlichen und allgemeingeschichtlichen Wirksamkeit (Halle: Max Niemayer, 1892), I, 4f.

[26] "Velox et ad omnia utilis." PL 103, 355. "Nihil

Liber ex regulis diversorum patrum collectio, or Codex Regularum, as it is commonly called, a collection of eastern and western monastic rules; the handier Concordia Regularum, a concordance of some twenty-six rules based on their agreement with the Rule of St. Benedict; a treatise on the Incarnation; a pamphlet against Adoptianism--Benedict went twice to Spain to combat this heresy--and letters.[27]

Benedict's reforming activity reached its peak in the great abbots' meeting of Aachen in 817 which began its deliberations, on imperial orders, on July 10. The assembly, composed entirely of abbots and monks, held its sessions in the sacristy of the dome.[28] The soul of the synod was

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intellectui ejus excederet." Ibid., 380. Cf. J. Narberhaus, op. cit., 16. Ibid., 73, we find a pertinent quotation from Ermollus Nigellus (Carm.II): "Dulcis, amatus erat, blandus placidusque modestus." See also Stephan Hilpisch, Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums in ihren Grundzügen dargestellt (Freiburg: Herder & Co., 1929), 121.

[27] PL 103. Ibid., 380 is Ardo's reference to the Codex Regularum and the Concordia Regularum. Lists of Benedict's works are also found in DTC II, 708; DHE VIII, 186f.; DSAM I, 1439; and LTK II, 179. See also Otto Seebass, "Über das Regelbuch Benedikts von Aniane," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, 15(1895), 245-257; Ernst Tomek, Studien zur Reform der deutschen Klöster in XI. Jahrhundert (Wien: Mayer & Co., 1910), 177; U. Berlière, "L'étude des réformes monastiques," loc. cit., 138: Philibert Schmitz, Histoire de l'Ordre de Saint-Benoît, 2nd ed. (Maredsous: Les Editions de Maredsous, 1948), I, 107.

[28] "Jubente imperatore aggregatis coenobiorum Patribus una cum quam pluribus monachis perplures resedit dies." PL 103, 377. Among the participants was Arnulf, abbot of

Benedict. "Before all," writes Ardo, "Benedict explained the Rule in its entirety, clarified difficulties, resolved doubts, unmasked errors, approved customs and useful additions."[29] Then he drafted a capitulary which was discussed for several days and subsequently submitted to the emperor so that he might order its uniform observance in all of Frankland. The canons of Aachen are brief enunciations, reiterations of law and custom, a careful summary of tradition, both ancient and recent, written and oral, something that has not been undertaken since the great Patriarch of Monte Cassino wrote his Rule. They are precise regulations, dealing with the liturgy, the care of the body (food and clothing) and claustral discipline.[30] They supplied an absolute need in a world where, to use Ardo's remark, "regular life had nearly

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Noirmoutier, Apollinarius of Monte Casino, Alvens of St. Hubert's in the Ardennes, Agiulph of Solignac and Joshua of St. Victor's (Volturne). Cf. M. Mourre, op. cit., 280. See also Mansi, XIV, 393-400, MGH, LL Sec. II, Capitularia Regum Francorum, I, 343-349 and PL 103, 381-394.

[29] "Regulam ab integro discutiens, cunctis obscura dilucidavit, dubia patefecit, priscos errores abstulit, utiles consuetudines affectusque confirmavit." PL 103, 377. Cf. also J. Narberhaus, op. cit., 51.

[30] "Judicia igitur Regulae cunctaque dubia ad proficuun deducta effectum, assentientibus omnibus protulit." PL 103, 377. See also Jean-Berthold Mahn, L'ordre cistercien et son gouvernement dès origines au milieu du XIII siècle (1098-1265) (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1945), 22, E. Bishop, op. cit., 218 and M. Mourre, op. cit., 280 and J. Narberhaus, op. cit., 51.

vanished.[31] Until the ninth century the Rule had not been generally accepted and few abbeys practiced regular Benedictine life. There were still monasteries which retained their ancient statutes, while others became dependencies of bishops or were transformed into canonries. In the liturgy there were hardly any differences between the regular and the secular clergy. And last but not least, a great many monasteries came into lay hands and consequently became destitute; lacking the barest necessities, their members were forced to disband.[32]

Since there are a number of *lacunae* in the Benedictine Rule--many details are unmentioned; there are gaps in the horarium, customs and rubrics; and several items are simply left to the abbot's discretion--Benedict of Aniane felt that there existed an additional need for legislation.[33] This took shape in the *capitulare monasticum* of Aachen, characterized by Ardo as "judgments on the Rule and on doubtful matters and customs not described therein."[34] It was to be a standard for all monks, by setting up a personal spiritual bond between the individual monk and the Rule.

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[31] "Regularis pene deperierat ordo." PL 103, 377.

[32] PL 103, 373 and 377. See also J. Narberhaus, *op. cit.*, 2f., P. Schmitz, *op. cit.*, I, 108, Herbert Workman, *The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal From the Earliest Times Down to the Coming of the Friars* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1913), 225.

[33] U. Berlière, "L'étude des réformes monastiques," *loc. cit.*, 138. See also S. Hilpisch, *Benedictinism*, 34.

[34] "Judicia...Regulae cunctaque dubia...quas minus pandit Regula consuetudines...protulit." PL 103, 377.

The first forty canons of the synod recall, without alterations, the essence of the Rule. From now on every monk was to observe the Rule alone, and this with great fidelity. The keynote of the capitula is given in the first two canons:

> 1. Let the abbots, so soon as they have returned to their monasteries, read the Rule in full, taking it into consideration word by word, and so by the help of the Lord profitably understanding it, let them together with their monks study completely to observe it.
>
> 2. Let all monks, who can do so, learn the Rule by heart.[35]

This means that henceforth abbots were to govern their houses according to the Rule of St. Benedict and that monks were to observe the Rule without the least delay, as the situation demanded.[36] The capitulary also stresses that the divine office should be performed in conformity with the provisions of the Rule[37] and that this should apply also to the readings.[38] No reference is made, however, to chapter 73 of the

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[35] PL 97, 381. See also Watkin Williams, Monastic Studies (Manchester: University Press, 1938), 97 and Guy de Valous, Le monachisme clunisien dès origines au XVe siècle. Vie intérieure des monastères et organisation (Archives de la France monastique, vol. 39; Paris: A. Picard, 1935), 10.

[36] C. (for canon) 22. PL 97, 385.

[37] C. 3, ibid., 381.

[38] C. 29, ibid., 386.

Rule where St. Benedict calls his work a "rule for beginners;" the expression obviously did not suit Benedict of Aniane in whose ideology the Rule was the most perfect of all.[39]

In general, the eighty-odd canons of Aachen can be grouped around three main headings: (1) seclusion and peace; (2) restoration of discipline and regular observance; and, (3) conversion of morals.[40]

Seclusion is a basic demand of monastic life. To restore it, the capitulary decreed that all things of the world that could disturb the inner peace and quiet of the monastery should be banished. Monks could no longer leave their monastery and when abbots undertook a journey they were to go without monk-companions, except when attending a Church council.[41] In general, they should leave their monastery only in case of necessity and return as quickly as possible. Unauthorized leaves called for strict punishment: works of penance, incarceration and even ejection from the community.[42] Monks could no longer accept obligations in the world, not even the supervision of a manor.[43] If by some necessity a monk had to travel outside the monastery, he had to have a companion and if the journey was long, both were to make halts at monasteries where they were not to disturb the monks of the place or make contacts with other guests, but sleep in a special dormitory situated in the vicinity of the oratory.[44] Visiting monks, as a rule, were to be cared for by docti fratres seeing to it that all worldliness was kept outside the monastery.[45] As in the case of abbots, monks could no longer be travelling companions of canons, for the freer life would lead to a lessening of the religious spirit. Such considerations motivated also the rule that monks should not kiss women in the future.[46] If guests came to the monastery, they were to eat in a special dining room and not in the monks' refectory where they might cause restlessness.[47] Laymen of lower rank could no longer be permanent guests of the monastery[48] nor were outsiders to receive instruction in the monastery which was henceforth limited to student monks.[49] To do away with the practice of accepting unworthy recruits in order to secure their property for the monastery, the decision was made that the newcomer should be poor and his possessions should not go to the monastery but be returned to his parents.[50] If several of the brethren had to stay habitually away from the monastery or whenever a new foundation was made, the size of the establishment had to be at least six in number, and this could not be filled with canons.[51] In the monastery and during work each monk had his supervisor or senior, but this could only be a religious;[52] laymen could no longer hold a prepositure or other offices.[53]

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[39] Georg Grützmacher, Die Bedeutung Benedikts von Nursia und seiner Regel in der Geschichte des Mönchtums (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1892), 16 n. 4.

[40] Cf. J. Narberhaus, op. cit., 52ff. Authors disagree on the actual number of canons. Following B. Albers (Consuetudines monasticae, III, 115ff.) P. Schmitz and J. Narberhaus mention 75 (op. cit. I, 181 and 51 respectively), E. Bishop 80 (op. cit., 218) and G. de Valous 83 (Le monachisme clunisien, 10).

[41] C. 59. PL 97, 391. Cf. also Regula, Prologue (in fine), and chs. 1, 4 (in fine), and 66, as well as J. Narberhaus, op. cit., 52.

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[42] Cc. 40, 64, 80. PL 97, 388, 391 and 393. Cf. also cc. 13 and 14. Ibid., 382f. See also G. de Valous, Le monachisme clunisien, 13 and S. Hilpisch, Benedictinism, 33.

[43] Cc. 16 and 26. PL 97, 383 and 385. See also J. Narberhaus, op. cit., 53.

[44] Cc. 15 and 58. PL 97, 383 and 390. Cf. J. Narberhaus, op. cit., 53.

[45] Cc. 53 and 16. PL 97, 391 and 383.

[46] J. Narberhaus, op. cit., 53. Cf. cc. 16 and 59. PL 97, 383 and 390.

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[47] Cc. 52 and 27. PL 97, 390 and 385f.

[48] C. 42. PL 97, 388.

[49] C. 45. Ibid., 389.

[50] Cc. 34 and 75. Ibid., 386f. and 392.

[51] C. 44. Ibid., 389.

[52] C. 33. Ibid., 386.

[53] "Ut monachis, non nisi monachus constituatur praepositus." C. 32, PL 97, 386. This was to put an end to the system of commendatory abbots, as is evidenced also from Ardo. "Assensum praebet gloriosissimus imperator, monasteria

Worldliness was to be avoided also in matters of food and clothing. From now on monks were to wear only clothes befitting a religious[54] and abstinence was to be strictly observed: not even oblates could eat meat, and fowl were allowed only on six days altogether, during the Christmas and Easter season.[55] To benefit from the fruits of seclusion and silence, monks were to abstain from talking in a loud voice and from taking oaths, because the former could lead to quarrels and the latter could end in perjury.[56] Disturbance of the peace, as when someone hits another with a stick or even with his bare fist calls for adequate punishment. Not even the smallest noise should disturb the quiet and peace of the monks whose every movement and action should be performed with dignity. In the refectory they eat at some distance from one another to forestall possible conversation or communication. For the same reason a reader was appointed for the servers who ate after the community.[57] All this shows, as J. Narberhaus has pointed out, that "there are

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in Regno suo cuncta praenotata, in quibus ex his Regulares Abbates esse queant decernit." PL 103, 381. Cf. also DSAM I, 1440.

[54] Cc. 20 and 22. PL 97, 384.

[55] Cc. 37 and 78. Ibid., 387 and 392. Also 392 n. 10.

[56] Cc. 41 and 43. PL 97, 388.

[57] Cc. 76 and 28. Ibid., 392 and 386.

no mitigations with regard to enclosure and discipline, for herein is the...raison d'ètre of Benedictine life."[58]

Abbots were further enjoined not to squander the goods of the community during travels and like occasions, and to provide the monks with all the food, drink and clothing they need, as foreseen by the Rule and with no allowance for exceptions.[59] They could no longer act in an arbitrary manner and depose a monastic official without the consent of the community. This meant a circumscription of the abbot's power and a corresponding increase of community responsibility.[60] On the other hand Benedict redefined the concept of obedience which had received a Germanic interpretation and ~~this~~ became something like an oath of allegience, fealty or submission, as in the case of French capitularies, i.e. with reservations guaranteeing a greater or lesser personal liberty. (This, as could easily be seen, fomented the spirit of individualism and prevented a uniform interpretation of the Rule). The capitulary of 817 eliminated this anomaly, by prescribing these exceptions (excusationes); Germanic law had to bow before Roman discipline and the Benedictine monastic ideal.[61] In this connection Benedict revived the old decanatus system where every ten confreres were supervised by a dean, addressed by his charges as nonnus.[62] To punish transgressions, Benedict elaborated the existing penal code so that certain infringements could lead to excommunication or, in more serious cases, to incarceration. Hence, monasteries were to have their prisons. But, even on this point, Benedict was for moderation: He wished that these dungeons should be heatable and have a yard where inmates could work.[63]

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[58] Loc. cit., 64. Cf. also DSAM I, 1441: "To Benedict of Aniane the Benedictine is the monk who lives exclusively for God, by leading his monastic life with all the purity required by the Rule; he is not a missionary, nor a teacher or a cleric...in preference to the letter of the Rule..."

[59] Cc. 53 and 25. PL 97, 390 and 385. See also E. Sackur, op. cit., I, 51f. and G. de Valous, Le monachisme clunisien, 63.

[60] C. 56. PL 97, 390.

Benedict must also be credited with the re-introduction of the second part of the Benedictine profession, the so-called conversion of morals, which had fallen into disuse, through fusion with the stabilitas in congregatione, which in turn took the place of the old Benedictine stabilitas loci. Benedict studied the question and restored the middle part of the Benedictine vows to its proper place, though employing the term conversatio for conversio.[64]

A dominant feature of the capitulare monasticum is the prominence given to the liturgy. As Ardo informs us, Benedict, giving up his previous preference for simplicity, now felt that nothing could be too beautiful for the house of God and the vessels of worship.[65] At least sixteen canons deal with the subject of the office alone, giving rise to charges of ritualism in modern times.[66] Not content with minute regulations, Benedict added further prayers to the usual daily *pensum*, i.e. special psalms for the *eleemosynarii* and the deceased, and--at Inde--the daily Office of the Dead. After Vespers of the canonical office the Vespers of the canonical office the Vespers of the deceased were added; after Compline, Vigils; and after the Nocturn, Lauds, while at daybreak a Mass was celebrated for the deceased. Benedict also introduced the so-called trina oratio--the practice of daily reciting five psalms for all the living, five for all the faithful departed, and another five for those who died recently[67]--and regulated the daily proceedings in the chapter room which were to follow in this order: Martyrology, Rule and homily.[68]

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[61] Cc. 34 and 75. Ibid., 386f. and 392.

[62] Cc. 33 and 61. Ibid., 386 and 390.

[63] Cc. 14, 40, 71 and 72. Ibid., 383, 388, and 392.

[64] J. Narberhaus, op. cit., 60.

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[65] According to Ardo, by A.D. 882 Aniane had a vast and splendid church, a cloister with marble pillars and fine altar vessels. PL 103, 363f. "Seven lamps were suspended above the principal altar, dedicated in honor of the Trinity, and a hoop of silver lamps lighted the choir. There were silver chalices and costly vestments and beautiful service books...There were vast monastic buildings and Aniane was intended to set an example for other monasteries." Rose Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1928), 11. See also G. de Valous, *Le monachisme clunisien*, 13 and Henry-Bernard De Warren, "Le monachisme à l'apparition de saint Bernard," in *Bernard de Clairvaux*, edited by the Commission d'Histoire de l'Ordre de Citeaux (Paris: Editions Alsatia, 1953), 46.

[66] Cc. 23, 24, 30, 39, 46, 48, 50, 51, 60, 62, 66, 67, 68, 70 and 74. See also Ardo, PL 103, 363-365, J. Mahn, *L'ordre cistercien*, 22 and J. Narberhaus, *op. cit.*, 2 and 29f. The same author concludes, "Now it becomes clear to us why Benedict introduces art into the monastery. It was to serve for a deepening and an intensification of the religious spirit and for the solemn execution of the divine service, as Ardo himself indicates 'Quicquid operi Dei necessarium esse conspexit, summo cum studio adquisivit.' (PL 103, 365)." *Op. cit.*, 31.

A great many ordinances deal with the care of the body. Here, again, Benedict tried to steer a middle course between extremes in food and drink and thus gave once more evidence of his moderation. For instance, whenever the monks spent the day in hard work or celebrated the Office of the Dead, they were entitled to an extra potion before Compline.[69] On fast days work was to be less strenuous, and during summer it was permissible to take a siesta even on these occasions.[70] Benedict also forbade regular bleeding because of its weakening effect, unless it had to be done for reasons of health, but then the patient was given better food.[71] Food, as a rule, was to have the fat needed for nourishment, except on Fridays, the eight days before Christmas and from Quinquagesima Sunday until Easter.[72] In all, seventeen ordinances regulate the monk's diet.[73] This should not include fowl, be it in the monastery or outside, except in the case of illness and on four days during Christmas and Easter, if there were a supply.[74] Bishops should not order monks to eat fowl.[75] Flesh meat, on the other hand, was completely banished, even to oblate children, unless they were ill.[76] Wednesdays and Fridays were fast days, and on Good Friday only bread and water was taken.[77] There was no fast during Pentecost week, unless called for by a special reason.[78]

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[67] PL 103, 378-380. See also PL 97, 389 c. 50, J. Narberhaus, op. cit., 43f. and M. Herrgott, op. cit., 21.

[68] C. 69. PL 97, 391. Cf. also O. Seebas, "Das Regelbuch," loc. cit., 244 n. 1, and David Knowles, The Monastic Order in England A History of Its Development From the Time of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 954-1216 (Cambridge: University Press, 1950), 27.

[69] C. 12, PL 97, 382.

[70] Cc. 12, 18, 46 and 71. Ibid., 382, 383, 389 and 392.

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[71] C. 11. Ibid., 382.

[72] C. 77. Ibid., 392.

[73] Cc. 8, 9, 10, 12, 18, 22, 25, 26, 37, 46, 47, 51, 57, 71, 76, 77 and 78.

[74] Cc. 8 and 78. PL 97, 382 and 392f.

[75] C. 9, Ibid., 382.

[76] "Ut volatilia intus, forisve, nisi pro infirmitate, nullo tempore comedant." PL 97, 382. Cf. also c. 37; ibid., 387.

[77] Cc. 18 and 47. Ibid., 383 and 389.

[78] C. 51. Ibid., 390.

Abbot and monks were to have the same portion of food and drink,[79] and to avoid the extremes of too much or too little, Benedict introduced a new standard weight for the pound.[80] Every monk was given his portion individually with no permission to give part of it to another.[81] Apples and lettuce could only be eaten with other food, not outside meals.[82] On great solemnities and feasts of saints there were two meals, and whenever guests came to the monastery the abbot could increase the ration of food and drink in their honor. If there were no wine, a double measure of beer was given instead.[83]

In matters of clothing, Benedict introduced both new items and for several reasons increased the number of garments allowed by the Rule. First, since the climate is considerably colder in Gaul than in Italy where the Rule had been drawn up, the Frankish monks needed more and warmer clothes than granted by the Rule. Moreover, in the absence of adequate legislation on the subject, some of these monks had taken matters into their own hands by making additions to their wardrobe long before the times of Benedict of Aniane. Considering these additions legitimized through age-old practice, they not only resisted attempts to return to the stricter provisions of the Rule, but in some instances called for even more allowances. A problem was also the case of negligent abbots who failed to provide their charges with the necessary clothing.[84] To remedy the situation Benedict ordained in seven canons[85] that garments should neither be extremely cheap nor excessively expensive, but of average quality.[86] The canons also specify the length of the cuculla and prohibit all discrimination between the abbot's and the monks' wardrobe.[87] The latter should receive clothes and shoes and every necessary article whenever in need, and be given flannelcapes and warm muffs because of the climate.[88] Canon 22 details the monks' wardrobe, as follows: two undershirts, tunics, cucullae and capes and even three of each in case of necessity; then four pairs of stockings, two underdrawers, a mantle, two pelises, i.e. long fur-lined outer garments, and two belts (fasciolae) with two additional ones in case of necessity or when travelling; and, finally, two kinds of gloves (muffs), for the summer and winter respectively, two pairs of day shoes, two night gowns, and a sufficient quantity of soap and oils.[89]

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[79] C. 25. Ibid., 385.

[80] C. 57. Ibid., 390.

[81] C. 76. Ibid., 392.

[82] C. 10. Ibid., 382.

[83] C.46. Ibid., 389. Cf. also cc. 22 and 26. Ibid., 384f.

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[84] E. Tomek, op. cit., 248f.

[85] Cc. 20, 21, 22, 25, 53, 61 and 79. Of these cc. 53 and 25 seem to be somewhat contradictory. Cf. E. Tomek, op. cit., 249 and E. Sackur, op. cit., I, 58f.

[86] C. 20. PL 97, 384. See also E. Tomek, op. cit., 248.

[87] Cc. 21 and 25. PL 97, 384f.

[88] Cc. 53, 61 and 79. Ibid., 390 and 393.

The Rule of St. Benedict assigns an important place to daily manual labor. By the early ninth century this meant hardly more than activities in the kitchen, bakery and other workshops, the gathering of fruit and similar work.[90] Intellectual labor was done in intern schools for oblates.[91] In this instance, too, Benedict was for moderation: he ordained that during Lent work should cease with the office of None, and that work should be lighter on Wednesdays and Fridays, because of the fast.[92] The provisions on manual labor thus never go beyond the demands of the Rule; but they indicate that house work must be done by the monks themselves, while field labor was undertaken only by way of exception.[93]

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[89] "Abbas...hos omnino provideat, ut camisias duas, et tunicas duas, et cucullas duas, et cappas duas unusquisque monachorum habeat; quibus vero necesse est, addatur et tertia; et pedules quatuor paria, et femoralia duo paria, roccum unum, pellicias usque ad talos duas, fasciolas duas; quibus autem necesse est itineris causa, alias duas; manicas quas vulgo wantos appellant, in aestate, et in hieme muffulas vervecinas; calciamenta diurna paria duo, subtalares per noctem in aestate duas, in hieme vero soccos; saponem sufficientem et uncturam." C.22, PL 97, 384. Ardo similarly reports, "Concessit etiam necessitatis causa, propter quam Regula jubet, duas scilicet stamineas, et femoralia, pelliceas quaecunque necessaria prospexit, ut omnem amputaret occasionis ambagem, tribuit et concessit." PL 103, 380.

[90] Cc. 4, 17 and 39. PL 97, 381, 383 and 388. Even if, on occasions there was field work, this involved no contact with the world, for the monks were enjoined to work in silence and recite psalms in the meantime. "Nec laborantium quis fabulis perstrepere audebat, sed manus opere, linguae occupabantur psalmodiis." PL 103, 368. Ibid., 379 we read, "Expleta Prima in unum aggregati solvant capitulum: quo expleto, cum silentio, aut psalmos decantando exeant ad opus sibi injunctum." Cf. also H. DeWarren, "Le monachisme à l'apparition de saint Bernard," loc. cit., 52f.

[91] "Ut scola in monasterio non habeatur, nisi eorum

The capitulary provided also that tithes be given to the poor. With his concern Benedict anticipated subsequent ecclesiastical and monastic legislation.[94]

Considering the provisions of Aachen as a whole, one has to admit that they do not offer strikingly original or new ideas. Quite frequently they are but a repetition of ordinances contained in the capitularies and synodal decrees of previous rulers and Church councils. Still, by assimilating

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qui oblati sunt." PL 97, 389 c. 45. This meant the discontinuation of monastic schools for outsiders. See also DSAM I, 1440; B. Albers, Consuetudines Monasticae, III, 128; G. de Valous, Le monachisme clunisien, 10, and D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, 27.

[92] Cc. 39 and 18. PL 97, 388 and 383.

[93] J. Narberhaus, op. cit., 64. See also S. Hilpisch, Geschichte, 125; D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, 27 and Charles Dereine, "Odon de Tournai et la crise du cenobitisme au XIe siècle," Revue du Moyen Age Latin, 4(1948), 149.

[94] "Ut de omnibus in eleemosynam datis, tam ecclesiae quam fratribus, decimae pauperibus dentur." PL 97, 389 c. 49.

and coordinating all this material they brought about a reform that went deeper and reached wider proportions in their fundamental thoroughness than preceding particular endeavors.[95]

There can be no doubt that the capitulary of 817 was basically the work of Benedict of Aniane, a man quite capable of such an undertaking, in view of his personality, his studies, the experiences he gathered from visiting monasteries and, last but not least, his friendship with Louis the Pious.[96] The emperor, who liked to listen to his counsels,[97] was quick in approving the draft accepted by all participants in July, 817. It thus became an official capitulary of the state, expressing the hope that the execution of the reform would start within the year in all monasteries. The movement received additional impetus from the provision that representatives from other monasteries should spend some time at Inde to acquaint themselves with its model usages, and from the appointment of *missi dominici*, taken from the *ordo regularis*, for the purpose of visiting the monasteries to ascertain whether the provisions of Aachen were faithfully observed and to remedy possible deficiencies.[98] Mindful of the same objectives, Louis the Pious reduced the services to be rendered by monasteries, granted the right of free elections, and appointed Benedict the superior of all monasteries in his kingdom.[99]

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[95] J. Narberhaus, *op. cit.*, 51.

[96] *Ibid.*, 4f. and 39. See also E. Tomek, *op. cit.*, 178; R. Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, 2; Ursmer Berlière, *Ascèse benedictine dès origines à la fin du XIIe siècle* (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1927), 27f.; G. de Valous, *Le monachisme clunisien*, 12; D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 26; and H. DeWarren, "Le monachisme à l'apparition de saint Bernard," *loc. cit.*, 46f.

[97] "Ludovicus...ejus consilium libenter obtemperabat." PL 103, 372.

Since all monks had one *professio*, Benedict felt that they should also have one *salubris consuetudo* i.e. identical customs and practices in the liturgy, in vigils, in chanting, in food and drink and similar fields. To his mind the best way to maintain and safeguard regular life was to set up uniform practices protected by the canons of Aachen and the alertness of the _missi_ against arbitrary interpretations.[100]

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[98] "De quibus etiam capitularem institutum imperatori confirmandum praebuit, ut omnibus in regno suo positis monasteriis observare praeciperet...Cui protinus imperator assensum praebuit, inspectoresque per singula posuit monasteria... Suos in Inda degentes ita omni intentione instruxit, ut ex diversis regionibus adventantes monachi...imbuerentur." PL 103, 377f. These *missi* were from the *ordo regularis*. Cf. *ibid*., 385. The literature attesting the existence of these inspectors is found in DHB VIII, 181. See also J. Narberhaus, *op. cit*., 64f; B. Albers, *Consuetudines Monasticae*, III, 90 and 93; Cuthbert Butler *Benedictine Monachism. Studies in Benedictine Life and Rule* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1961), 236f.; P. Schmitz, *op. cit*., I, 106; S. Hilpisch, *Benedictinism*, 36 and M. Mourre, *op. cit*., 280.

[99] "Praefecit eum quoque imperator cunctis in regno suo coenobiis." PL 103, 377. See also *ibid*., 367: "sollicitudo omnium monasteriorum circa longeque positorum," and 368: "aliorum circuibat cellas, et eis Regulae sanctae pandebat absconsa."

Since there was to be a uniform observance, the need for establishing close bonds between monasteries and for placing an authority over them to supervise their discipline could not be overlooked. Uniform observances were to effect a certain unimn among monasteries, something unknown before the end of the eighth century. Until that time each monastery formed a separate, distinct and independent unit, with its local particularism in prayers, usages and interpretation of the Rule. Any connection which existed between the various houses rested on a purely spiritual basis as, for instance, does a prayer association. Benedict of Aniane went one step further. He took twelve monasteries under his special jurisdiction, empowered to transfer monks from one place to another.[101] One may well see here the outline of a monastic congregation, a basic component of the unity envisioned by our reformer. But it was far from being a perfect congregation, for royal and episcopal power was still too strong and the concept of land as the source of power too ingrained. Still, Benedict realized that the multitude of scattered and isolated houses constituted, in reality, a family;[102] hence the need for reducing the varied particular observances of individual monasteries to uniform practices. This uniformity, with its fixed customs, was to produce the _forma unitatis,_

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[100] "Sicut una omnium erat professio, fieret quoque omnium monasteriorum salubris una consuetudo." PL 103, 377. "Et una cunctis generaliter posita observatur Regula, cunctaque monasteria ita ad formam unitatis redacta sunt acsi ab uno magistro et in uno imbuerentur loco. Uniformis mensura in potu, in cibo in vigiliis, in modulationibus cunctis observanda est tradita." _Ibid_. Somewhat later Ardo continues, "In habitu quoque dissimilis fecerat multorum consuetudo. Siquidem nonnullis usque ad talos cucullae pendebant. Quam ob rem vir Dei uniformem cunctis tenendum monachis instituit modum, ut non amplius duobus cubitis excederet mensura, vel usque ad genua pertingere posset." _Ibid_., 379f. And Mabillon, using the _Vita Ludovici Pii_, writes in this connection, "[Peracte concilio] constituit idem Deo amabilis imperator Benedictum abbatem et cum eo monachos strenuae vitae, qui per omnia monasteria monachorum euntes redeuntesque uniformem traderent cunctis monasteriis tam viris quam monialibus feminis vivendi secundum Regulae sancti Benedicti incommutabilem morem." PL 103, 385. Cf. also C. Butler, _Benedictine Monachism_, 236 and 357; U. Berlière, "L'étude des réformes monastiques,"

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loc. cit., 138; O. Ducourneau, _op. cit._, 24; S. Hilpisch, _Benedictinism_, 34; W. Williams, _Monastic Studies_, 94 and 96f.; G. de Valous, _Le monachisme clunisien_, 10 and Vincent Hermans, _Spiritualité monastique_ (Rome: O. Cist. Ref., 1954), 115.

[101] "Habuit sub regimine suo monasteria duodecim, id est Anianum, Gellonem, Casam-Novam, Insulam-Barbaram, Menatem, Sanctum Savinum, Sanctum Maximinum, Massiacum, Cormariacum, Cellam-Novam in Tolesano, Monasterium-Maurum in Alsatz, Indam." PL 103, 383. These are the monasteries of Aniane, Gellone, Cazaneuve, Ile-Barbe, Ménat, Saint-Savin, Micy, Massay, Cormery, Celleneuve, Marmoutier and Inde. Cf. DHE VIII, 179. See also J. Narberhaus, _op. cit._, 43 and C. Butler, _Benedictine Monachism_, 236.

[102] According to P. Schmitz, "We have here already the blueprint of a congregation, an element of that unity which is the dream of our reformer." _Op. cit._, I, 103. See also S. Hilpisch, _Benedictinism_, 33; U. Berlière, "L'étude des réformes monastiques," _loc. cit._, 138; V. Hermans, _op. cit._, 115 and Anselme Le Bail, "La paternité de Saint Benoît sur l'Ordre de Cîteaux," _Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorum_, 9(1947), 111.

a stable way of life and put an end to the chaos of preceding centuries. There was no absolute need for a formal organization: the example of the mother-house, the work of the inspectors and Benedict's personal influence proved sufficient for the moment.[103]

The idea of grouping monasteries into a superstructure based on the broad foundation of the Rule was strongly supported by Louis the Pious. This is why he agreed to send imperial inspectors to every monastery. In addition, there was the model monastery of Inde he had built in the vicinity of the imperial palace at Aachen where all could learn the authentic practices. Accordingly, as imperial order prescribed that each monastery send one or two of its members to Inde, to be instructed by Benedict himself, and then, upon their return, instruct everyone in the usages of Inde. All this made Benedict, in C. Butler's eyes, a General, with an agent or inspector in every house whose duty it was to denounce recalcitrant abbots first to the local bishop, then, in case of necessity, to ecclesiastical synods.[104]

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[103] J. Narberhaus, _op. cit._, 43. _Ibid._, 74f. the author concludes that the reform of Benedict of Aniane marks the beginning of an inner process leading to a greater centralization in the Church. It was another attempt to integrate a unified church of France with the universal Church. "The Church awakened in souls. The idea of the _universalitas Ecclesiae_ became alive."

[104] "Such were the plans of Benedict...a rigid

Benedict was no fanatic of the law. The capitula of Aachen mitigated the provisions of the Benedictine Rule in at least ten different instances, whenever their observance proved too difficult in the ninth century. Thus Benedict granted more and better clothing and made greater allowances in food, in line with chapters 39, 40 and 55 of the Rule where it was left to the abbot's discretion to provide whatever may additionally be needed. From the ascetical point of view, these regulations breathe mildness rather than restriction; they are not in conflict with the Rule or with its spirit. Likewise, it must be kept in mind that the purpose of the capitulary was much broader than mere mitigation for the sake of compromise, for the primary concern of Benedict of Aniane was to lay down uniform customs for all monasteries.[105]

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uniformity among the monasteries of the empire, secured by the appointment of himself as General." C. Butler Benedictine Monachism, 237. See also PL 103, 377f.

[105] "Propter plurimorum...indiscretum fervorem et quorundam ineptum teporem minusque capacium sensum obtunsum... ordinemque observandum cunctis tradidit: illos retrahens ne superflua peterent, hos imperans ut torporem excuterent, alios nihilominus admonens ut saltem visa implere expeterent... Quapropter piae recordationis venerabilis abbas, quaeque observanda comperit, absque ulla cunctatione vel excusationis fuco implere decrevit: ea vero quae certis pro causis aut dimittenda cognovit aut commutanda inspexit, nihilominus, prout rectius et secundum posse locique positionem dirimere quivit, suis observanda discipulis tradidit." PL 103, 378. See also J. Narberhaus, op. cit., 64; H. DeWarren, "Le

Ardo preserved for us the daily schedule of Inde in its outline. His account is supplemented by two monks of Reichenau, named Tatto and Grimalt, who spent some time at the monastery and recorded their impressions. They noted the dignified and peaceful bearing of the monks who walked about with gravity and with downcast eyes, in strict silence, doing everything in accordance with the regulations and without delay. According to Ardo, Benedict instructed his monks in such a way that visiting monks had no need for words--distracting noise--to satisfy themselves about the monastery's way of life; they could see everything in practice, from the actions and from the recollection of the individual monks.[106]

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monachisme à l'apparition de saint Bernard," *loc. cit*., 50; Othon Ducourneau, *Les origines cisterciennes* (Ligugé: Imprimerie E. Aubin et fils, 1933), 25f.; W. Williams, *op. cit*., 95ff. and G. de Valous, *Le monachisme clunisien*, 13 n. 3. Referring to S. Hilpisch (*Geschichte*, 125) J. Narberhaus concludes, "His (Benedict's) ordinances are nowhere directed against the Rule or against its spirit, nowhere is the Rule overstepped in ascetic demands. On the contrary, every ordinance breathes the spirit of mildness [and] represents a mitigation rather than a restriction of the Rule." *Op. cit*., 64.

[106] PL 103, 378-380. Tatto and Grimalt found the monks of Inde dignified, peaceful, walking with gravity and downcast heads in strictest silence and performing everything "secundum ordinem" and "absque ulla tarditate." MGH, *Ep*. V, 303-305. See also J. Narberhaus, *op. cit*., 65. *Ibid*., 60-63 is a discussion of the third group of ordinances aimed at strengthening inner recollection. Cf. also *supra*, n. 143. The daily schedule of Inde is described in Clemente Molas, "A propósito del Ordo de san Benito de Aniano," *Studia Monastica*, 2(1960), 207ff.

Benedict felt that the monk's main obligation was prayer or, better, the divine office. If he did not actually say the characteristic "Propter chorum fundati sumus" as it is believed he did,[107] it is nevertheless a true expression of his sentiments. Hence he considerably augmented the daily prayer life of Inde. Going beyond the provisions of the Rule, the monks of Inde recited the trina oratio before Matins and made three visits each day to all the altars of the church, reciting the Lord's Prayer and either the Apostles' Creed or the Confiteor during each station. After Compline they stayed in church and recited either ten (winter) or five (summer) psalms, and then made their third round to the altars before retiring for the night. Another addition was the Office of the Dead, recited most probably every day, and the Office of All Saints which at the time had only Vespers and Lauds. The trend continued so that eventually the list included the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of the Holy Cross, the Incarnation, Holy Trinity and the Holy Spirit. The reason for extending the psalmody was not, however, Benedict's delight in colorful church services, but a genuinely felt need to withdraw the monks from the world and outside activities, in order to lead them to a more intense inner life worthy of their profession.[108] For the same reason monks were told to recite psalms while working, alone or in twos, in the kitchen, bakery or cellar.[109]

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[107] Pius Halász, "Die geistliche Schule der Zisterzienser," trans. Bede Lackner, Anima, 8(1953), 54.

Since, in line with Benedict's thinking, the divine office was considerably expanded, no time remained for the monks to procure their livelihood through manual labor which now came to be regarded as extraordinary for the monk. Work became more domestic and was done, for the most part, in workshops. In this situation the conviction could easily take root that, like the cleric, the monk was entitled to live from the altar. The consequence was that monasteries began to accept fixed revenues, tithes, altars and landed property cultivated by serfs. Thus monastic property did not essentially differ from clerical and lay possessions, a situation which implied the recognition of the manorial system with its serfs and laborers and led to an involvement in the feudal world, the very thing Benedict sought to avoid.[110]

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[108] PL 103, 378-380. Cf. also E. Bishop, op. cit., 214, U. Berlière, "L'étude des réformes monastiques," loc. cit., 148f., DSAM I, 1440f., André Louf, The Message of Monastic Spirituality, trans. Luke Stevens (New York: Desclee Co., 1964), 168 and C. Molas, "A proposito del Ordo de san Benito de Aniano," loc. cit., 205ff. In this author's belief one should not attribute too much to Benedict of Aniane, for a number of practices described in Ardo's ch. 52 (altar visits, prayers for the deceased, recitation of psalms during work) are of earlier origins. Cf. A. Louf, op. cit., 168f.; M. Herrgott, op. cit., 21 and DSAM I, 1440 where the divine office is described "oeuvre primordiale de Benedictine." See also S. Hilpisch, Benedictinism, 35.

[109] "In monasterio quoque remanentes non fabulis occupentur otiosis, sed bini et bini, aut certe singuli in coquina, in pistrino, in cellario psalmos canent." PL 103, 379. It is of interest to see how authors disagree on the interpretation of Ardo's fifty-second chapter. According to P. Schmitz, "If one reads Ardo's description of the monk's daily schedule at Inde, he will no longer recognize in it the daily routine described by St. Benedict in his Rule." DHE VIII, 184. On the other hand one reads in DSAM I, 1441, "It suffices to compare the daily schedule prescribed by the Rule with that of the monk of Benedict of Aniane (i.e.) as it appears from the documents preserved...in order to see that their tasks are identical, that the spirit is the same, and that only precisions of detail distinguish them."

As to education, the Carolingian program had been to place this responsibility in the hands of the secular clergy. Benedict, convinced that the monasteries were too connected with the cultural world of the time, wholeheartedly supported the idea; hence his prohibition of institutional teaching, except in the case where oblate children were trained for the monastery.[111]

To evaluate Benedict's impact on monasticism, one must look both to his admirers and to his critics. The latter are quite vocal, especially in more recent times. They point, first of all, to the fact that he upset the traditional balance between prayer, work and spiritual reading (study) set up so wisely by the Father of Benedictine monasticism.[112] With Benedict of Aniane a tradition set in that the office was no longer the most important activity in the framework of monastic life, as St. Benedict had wanted it, but practically the only occupation of the monks.[113] This overemphasis of community prayer led to the charge that Benedict ritualized prayer, at the expense of simplicity.[114] This could happen, because physical labor had ceased to occupy the place assigned to it by St. Benedict, because it was not possible to return to the sixth century, and because there were no extraclaustral activities. The "additions and accretions to the canonical office that set in with him and held their ground until almost modern times modified the character of Benedictine life for a period of eight centuries or more" (C. Butler)[115] and led to catastrophic results (U. Berlière).[116] Equally alien to the Rule were Benedict's attempts to enforce a rigidly uniform and centralized monastic organization, with its inspectors and its

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[110] C.Dereine, "Odon de Tournai," loc. cit., 149 and LTK II, 179.

[111] C. 45. PL 97, 389. Cf. also DSAM I, 1440; B. Albers, Consuetudines Monasticae, III, 128; D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, 27 and J.Narberhaus, op. cit., 2 and 31.

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[112] E.g. P. Schmitz, op. cit., I, 109.

[113] Ursmer Berlière, L'ordre monastique dès origines jusqu' au XIIe siècle (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1924), 129.

[114] See supra, n. 66.

[115] Benedictine Monachism, 295.

[116] Supra, n. 53.

"General"--Benedict himself. "The centralization of monasteries was certainly contrary to the letter and even to the spirit of the Rule of St. Benedict" (V. Hermans).[117] "The essential antagonism of spirit between Benedict of Aniane and the great Benedict" lies in the former's aim at a "cast-iron system of uniformity" (C. Butler),[118] with an "almost mechanical will" (H. Workman).[119] This "scheme of rigid uniformity among the monasteries of the empire, secured by the appointment of himself as General, aided by an agent or inspector in each house,--an ideal wholly alien to the most elementary conception of Benedictine life--met with the fate it deserved" (C. Butler).[120] It failed to effect a meaningful concatenation of monasteries in Benedict's own time.[121] Absolute uniformity, as envisioned by Benedict in 817, was not only a "fatal mistake" (H. Workman),[122] but also "a utopia" (U. Berlière).[123]

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[117] V. Hermans, op. cit., 115.

[118] Benedictine Monachism, 237. Cf. also DHE VIII, 184.

[119] H. Workman, op. cit., 227.

[120] Benedictine Monachism, 237. See also DHE VIII,184.

[121] Georg Schreiber, Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters (Münster: Regensberg, 1948), 409.

[122] Op. cit., 220f.

[123] U. Berlière, Ascèse Benedictine, 47.

C. Butler also observed that the regulations which Benedict induced the abbots to adopt at the synod of Achen as a basis of a common observance, prove disappointing on examination. "Certainly such provisions were not the touchstone between observance and inobservance in monasteries, much less the test of religious spirit."[124] It is indeed true that the provisions of Aachen are, in many respects, not an original creation, but the codification of existing practices, as found in Paul the Deacon and others, especially in Italy. This is apparent from the treatment of irrevelancies, as is the regulation on shaving, and from seeming contradictions. To illustrate the point: the great organization conceived by Benedict of Aniane created bonds between monasteries, set up controls and entailed outside responsibilities, trips and contacts with the world that were "ill-fitted for seclusion and stability taken in a strict sense" (Pierre Salmon).[125] Moreover the capitulary of 817 greatly altered the Rule, with its additions, modifications, eliminations and restrictions.[126] This may well have been the result of Benedict's exposure to eastern monasticism and his dealings with Origenism.[127] In fact, in his Concordia Regularum Benedict made the attempt to point out common denominators in eastern rules and the Rule of St. Benedict. The multiplication of church services, the minute regulations of daily tasks, government and material needs--as in the case of shaving, the length of the cuculla, and the standard weight of bread--are equally indicative of eastern monasticism. Authors like U. Berlière and P. Schmitz still see in Benedict a disciple of the eastern Fathers rather than a son of the Patriarch of western monasticism. This follows also from Benedict's opposition to monastic schools and teaching which, at the same time, implied a disinterest for intellectual and cultural self-improvement and for a share in the intellectual formation of the country. The re-introduction of Egyptian monastic elements and the return--at least, in part,--to stricter oriental practices clearly indicates a return to a tradition with which the father of Benedictinism had broken three centuries ago.[128]

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[124] Benedictine Monachism, 357.

[125] Pierre Salmon, "Monastic Asceticism and the Origins of Cîteaux," Monastic Studies, 3(1965), 122. In the words of P. Schmitz, "the famous capitula of Aix-la-Chapelle arouse little genuine interest. What does it matter, for instance, that the monks should be shaved every fifteen days and that they should not follow such practice during Lent." Op. cit., I, 108, Inconsequential regulations are also found in cc. 6-8, 10f., 21 and 76. Cf. M. Mourre, op. cit., 282.

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[126] PL 103, 378-380. See also J. Narberhaus, op. cit., 64 and E. Bishop. op. cit., 213.

[127] PL 103, 361. See also DTC II, 708; LTK II, 179; M. Mourre, op. cit., 280 and Jean Leclercq, The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, translated by Catharine Misrahi (New York: New American Library, 1960), 100.

Yet in another matter, Benedict was very much a representative of the world around him, with its fixed revenues, manorialism and proprietary churches; this because of the discontinuation of manual labor and because of the situation created by the already mentioned centralizing tendencies.

Benedict spared no effort in the promotion of monastic reform; yet its actual success remains unknown. It was, for all practical purposes, a one-man-reform, the brainchild of a man who lacked the perspective of centuries, who was more interested in externals and details than in a universal outlook.[129] "He was nothing but a monk--A. Hauck concludes--

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[128] "A rigore vero suae primae conversionis paululum declinarat, quoniam impossibile opus assumpserat: sed voluntas eadem permanebat." PL 103, 368. Benedict's admiration for eastern monasticism is also evidenced from his Codex regularum and the Concordia regularum written for the purpose of proving that the Benedictine Rule clearly followed oriental monastic traditions. Further indications of eastern influence are the extension of the divine office, elaboration of the liturgy, the minute regulations on government, daily occupations and material needs, as well as the introduction of rather severe practices, as in the case of seclusion and fasting, where Benedict of Aniane was stricter than the great Benedict. See also P. Schmitz, op. cit., I, 108f.; H. DeWarren, "Le monachisme à l'apparition de saint Bernard," loc. cit., 46 and Bernard Bligny, "Un aspect de la vie religieuse au Moyen Age. La concurrence dans les Alps aux XIIe siècle," Bulletin Philologique et Historique 1951-1952 (Paris: Imprimérie Nationale, 1953), 281.

[129] J. Narberhaus, op. cit., 75. See also LTK II, 179.

too interested in external and small matters. In his reform he was exclusively [and] excessively reactionary, with no new forward-looking aim. In this respect he stands behind other great monks."[130]

But this is only one side--the negative side--of the story; for Benedict has also his supporters. These praise his success in bringing about a reform from within, i.e. without outside interference, and with such an impact as to rank second only to the great patriarch of Monte Cassino.[131] He saw and insisted that the Rule of St. Benedict was a code of law and thus saved it from the fate of a watered-down spiritual directory. In the process he helped the Rule to exclusive supremacy in the West and saved Benedictinism for the future.[132] In line with his ideal of an integrally and uniformly observed Rule, he adapted the latter to the needs of the time, and this long before Cluny. He strengthened the monastic vows, regulated what was not decided by the Rule and suppressed outdated and impracticable usages. Thus he authored, what may be called the first "declaration" on the Rule.[133] Similarly, Benedict was the first monastic leader to work for effective monastic unity, in the conviction that Benedictine monasteries constituted a real family. Midway between Monte Cassino and Cluny, he paved the way for the latter, for imperial monasticism as well as for the monastic reforms of the tenth and eleventh centuries. His reform became, in fact, the basis for future legislation and practice.[134] In striving for beauty in the house of God and divine worship and in stressing the need for separation from the world, he was responsible for a richer inner life in French monasteries.[135] This affected also the Middle Ages and that humanism which, in the field of culture, bridges the religious and the secular.[136] His pastoral concern was not restricted to the monastery. He improved the lot of the lower clergy, worked for the elimination of unfit elements and gave a helping hand to the order of canons.[137] Defending the Roman concept of the Church against the German, he raised the Church to greater heights.[138] And in his concern for the laity, he worked for peace, law and justice in the state and cared for the poor and the needy.[139] Even C. Butler had to admit that Benedict produced "some good."[140] But the evaluation of Benedict's personality and of his work will remain a matter of the examiner's Weltanschauung, if one may use the term: It depends on the appreciation--or lack of appreciation--one has for monasticism and on the various definitions of it. One can understand that A. Hauck calls Benedict a reactionary in the field of culture, since he broke with Charlemagne's policy. Yet the verdict is incorrect, for monasteries are, first of all, houses of God and in

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[130] Albert Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1906), II, 608f.

[131] J. Narberhaus, op. cit., 3. Some see in him "Benedict II." DSAM I, 1441. P. Schmitz thinks the era is a turning point in history. DHE VIII, 177. Of the same opinion is E. Bishop, op. cit., 213.

[132] Benedict of Aniane made the ninth-century monk a true Benedictine (DSAM I, 1441), saved Benedictinism in France and Aquitaine from a possibly mortal illness (DHE VIII, 183) and helped the Benedictine Rule triumph over rival rules (DSAM I, 1441). See also G. de Valous, Le monachisme clunisien, 13 and J. Narberhaus, op. cit., 4 and 72. By saving the Benedictine Rule as a code of law, he actually saved monasticism. S. Hilpisch, Geschichte, 120ff.

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[133] P. Schmitz, *op. cit.*, I, 105. See also G. de Valous, *Le monachisme clunisien*, II and 13, J. Narberhaus, *op. cit*. 4 and H. De Warren, "Le monachisme à l'apparition de saint Bernard," *loc. cit.*, 47.

[134] E. Bishop, *op. cit.*, 213; S. Hilpisch, *Benedictinism*, 33; U. Berlière, "L'étude des réformes monastiques," *loc. cit.*, 139; G. de Valous, *Le monachisme clunisien*, 10 and 13; V. Hermans, *op. cit.*, 115; and J. Narberhaus, *op.cit.*, 74.

[135] The monks of Inde wrote, "Hic est Benedictus, per quem Dominus Christus in omni regno Francorum regulam sancti Benedicti restauravit." PL 103, 383. Cf. also *ibid.*, 361 and J. Narberhaus, *op. cit.*, 72f.

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[136] J. Narberhaus, op. cit., 75f.

[137] Ibid., 68f. and 78f.

[138] Ibid., 74. See also DHE VIII, 184f.

[139] "Erat quippe miserorum advocatus, sed monachorum pater; pauperum consolator." PL 103, 377. See also J. Narberhaus, op. cit., 26 and 73 and G. de Valous, Le monachisme clunisien, 13.

[140] Benedictine Monachism, 237.

Charlemagne's time this was not the case, except in very few instances. A purely external and secularized Christianity needed a deepening of the religious spirit, a religious and monastic renaissance. A religious and early Christian--oriental?--ingredient had to permeate the Carolingian, in order to make it purer and to place it within the framework of higher ideals.[141] And this undoubtedly holds true for the reform of Benedict of Aniane.

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[141] J. Narberhaus, op. cit., 73f.

CHAPTER II

CLUNY (910-1100)

It has been thought for some time that Citeaux came into being as a reaction to Cluniac decadence. The fact, however, is that in 1098, when Citeaux made its appearance, Cluny was *in floribus*; hence it would be wrong to see the *raison d'ètre* of Citeaux in the decline of Cluny. One must rather say that Cluny represented the epitome of traditional monachism in the second half of the eleventh century, a way of life Citeaux will greatly alter, in the sense of what its founders felt to be the ideas of the Father of western monachism. Thus, without Cluny there is no Citeaux, and without the knowledge of the former it would not be possible to understand the latter.

The abbey of Cluny in Burgundy, some twelve miles north west of Macôn,[1] rose at a time of general confusion, when the Rule of St. Benedict almost ceased to be observed.[2] The foundation was the result of an understanding reached between duke William of Aquitaine and Berno, abbot of Baume, in the diocese of Besançon, around the year 910. Both men were aware of the fact that one of the main reasons for the sad state of both Church and monasteries was the latters' inability to defend themselves against lay and ecclesiastical interference. Thus when they founded Cluny on September 11, 910, they agreed, in the charter of foundation,[3] that Cluny should be a free abbey, with full liberty to elect its own abbots, and with complete freedom from episcopal and lay jurisdiction. To ensure this the abbey was placed under direct papal protection. Equally important was the stipulation "that in Cluny a monastery shall be constructed in honor of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and that there the monks shall congregate and live according to the Rule of St. Benedict."[4]

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[1] "Protected by her gently smelling hills, she lay near one of the pilgrim routes to Rome, and close to the highways of the Saône and Rhone." Lucy Margaret Smith, *Cluny in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (London: Philip Allen & Co., 1930, xiiif. See also R. Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, 30. For the vast literature on Cluny see Max Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der Katholischen Kirche*, 3rd ed. (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1933), I, 183-188 and G. de Valous, *Le monachisme clunisien*, Bibliography.

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[2] "At the beginning of the tenth century, the keeping of the Rule had almost completely ceased." A. Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, III, 344.

[3] Testamentum Willelmi cognomento Pii, PL 133, 843-854. Its highlights are "I give and deliver to the Apostles Peter and Paul the village of Cluny, on the river Grone... with no reservations...I give on condition that a regular monastery be established at Cluny in honor of the apostles Peter and Paul; that all monks shall form a congregation there living under the rule of St. Benedict...The monks have the power and liberty to elect as abbot and ruler the monk of their order whom they shall prefer, according to the good pleasure of God and the rule laid down by St. Benedict, with no contradiction or impediment of this election by our power or that of any man. May they have as protectors the Apostles themselves, and for defender the Pontiff of Rome...from this day forward the monks united in congregation at Cluny shall be wholly freed from our power, from that of our kindred, and from the jurisdiction of royal greatness and shall never submit to the yoke of any earthly power." Cf. Joan Evans, Monastic Life at Cluny 910-1157 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931), 5f. See also E. Sackur, op. cit., I, 40; R. Graham, English Ecclesiastical Studies, 30; U. Berlière, L'ordre monastique, 188; W. Williams, Monastic Studies, 20ff; M. Mourre, op. cit., 302f.; LTK II, 1240; EC III, 1883ff., esp. 1887.

Led, successively, by such outstanding abbots as Berno (910-927), Odo (927-942), Aymard (942-954), Majolus (954-993), Odilo (993-1048) and Hugh the Great (1049-1109),--noted for their piety and erudition--Cluny prospered from its beginning.[5] Already Berno had jurisdiction over several monasteries, among them Déols, founded in 917. In March, 931, Pope John XI solemnly confirmed the rights and possessions of Cluny, as specified in the charter of foundation and subsequent charters drawn up when donations were made, upon the request of Odo. Odo also secured the privilege of permanently placing monasteries in need of reform under the jurisdiction of the abbot of Cluny.[6] In 937 the congregation of Cluny already numbered 17 monasteries, a figure which rose to 37 in 994, to 65 in 1048 and reached the one-thousand mark during the twelfth century.[7]

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[4] "Eo siquidem dono tenore, ut in Cluniaco honore sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli monasterium regulare construatur, ibique monachi juxta regulam beati Benedicti viventes congregentur." PL 133, 849.

[5] Dijon, MS fonds Baudot, 1018, p. 114, corrected by J. Evans, *op. cit.*, xix. See also Gerd Tellenbach (ed.), *Neue Forschungen über Cluny und die Cluniacenser von Joachim Wollasch, Hans-Erich Mayer und Hermann Diener* (Freiburg: Herder, 1959), 230ff.

The first abbots of Cluny were able to make their influence felt far beyond the confines of their monastery. Cluny thus became a center of reform, advocating a renewal based on the principles of regular life, through a combination of old and new ideas. The basis of the reform was the Rule of St. Benedict, fidelity to the tradition of Benedict of Aniane, the already mentioned ideal of *libertas*, a concern for the needy, and a strong stand against the evils of the *Eigenkirche* system promoted by feudal lords, both lay and ecclesiastic. Its success rested, in part, on the favorable geographical situation of the abbey--one could say,

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[6] "Convenit apostolico...Quia petistis a nobis quatenus praedictum monasterium in illo statu, quo a Guillelmo duce per testamentum manere decretum est, nostra apostolica auctoritate in perpetuum constare decernemus...tibi ad regendum concedimus. Itaque sit illud monasterium cum omnibus rebus..liberum ab omni dominatu." PL 132, 1046. Cf. *ibid.*, 1057: "Si autem coenobium aliquod ex voluntate illorum, ad quorum dispositionem pertinere videtur, in sua ditione ad meliorandum suscipere censeritis, nostram licentiam ex hoc habeatis...Et quia, sicut nimis compertum est, jam pene cuncta monasteria a suo proposito praevaricantur, concedimus ut si quis monachus ex quolibet monasterio ad vestram conversationem solo duntaxat meliorando vitae studio transmigrare voluerit, cui videlicet suus abbas regularem sumptum ad depellendam proprietatem habendi ministrare neglixerit, suscipere vobis liceat, quousque monasterii sui conversatio emendetur." See also G. Tellenbach, *op.cit.*, 110.

[7] Cf.E.Sackur, *op.cit.*, I,300,II, 517ff. and LTK ii,1238.

Cluny was really in the center of the contemporary western world--on the quality of its customs and statutes, on its organization, uniform leadership, independence from the local law and the support of the papacy; in a word, one may say, the time was really working for Cluny, which in time became one of the most powerful monasteries in the West, the center of a truly great monastic congregation.[8]

At the beginning Cluny had no other norms regulating its monastic life than the Rule of St. Benedict and the eighty canons of the capitulary of Aachen (817), brought along from the monastery of Baume. Baume itself had escaped the general decline, largely because it had remained faithful to the customs of Benedict of Aniane.[9] According to John of Salerno, the biographer of Odo,

> Those who dwelt in this place Baume were the followers of a certain Euticus...This Euticus lived at the time of the great Emperor Louis, and was well-loved by him, as he was by all, for he was of an attractive character. As a layman he was learned in unusual studies, but giving up all those things in which human weakness is accustomed to take pride, he devoted himself entirely to the rules and institutions of the holy Fathers; and from these authorities he took various customs and collected

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[8] Cf. LTK II, 1238f., and EC III, 1887.

[9] E. Tomek, *op. cit.*, 179; E. Sackur, *op. cit.*, I, 36ff.; R. Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, 3; J. Mahn, *L'ordre cistercien*, 22 and G. de Valous, *Le monachisme clunisien*, 19 n. 2. Baume itself is in the diocese of Besançon (Jura). Cf. M. Mourre, *op. cit.*, 305.

> Them into one volume. After a little time he became a monk himself, and he was so esteemed by the king that a monastery was built for him in the palace.[10]

This Euticus is no one else than Benedict of Aniane, the author of the Concordia Regularum and associate of Louis the Pious; hence it was the customs of Benedict of Aniane that the monks of Baume took along to Cluny.[11] This is corroborated by the fact that Baume had been reformed by the monastery of St. Martin in Autun, renowned for its regularity, which in turn was restored, in the times of Charles the Bald, by the monastery of Saint-Savin outside Poitiers, one of the twelve monasteries that made up Benedict of Aniane's congregation.[12]

Additional information about the early usages of Cluny may be gathered from Berno's will, from the instrument drawn up when

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[10] "In ea [Balma] namque erat monasterium nuper a Bernone abbate constructum...Fuerunt autem institutores ejusdem loci imitatores cujusdam patris Eutici." PL 133, 53. Cf. ibid., 54, "Ipse enim pater Euticius institutor fuit harum consuetudinum, quae hactenus in nostris monasteriis habentur." See also R. Graham, English Ecclesiastical Studies, 2.

[11] See ch. I, n. 1. Cf. B. Albers, Untersuchungen, 17f. and O. Ducourneau, op. cit., 27.

[12] E. Sackur, op. cit., I, 36j.; R. Graham, English Ecclesiastical Studies, 2; J. Evans, op. cit., 9; O. Ducourneau, op. cit., 27; J. Mahn, L'ordre cistercien, 22. See also PL 103, 383 on Benedict of Aniane's "Congregation." The reform of St. Martin, Autun, already stressed the importance of silence, strict fasting, liberality and hospitality. Cf. E. Sackur, op. cit., I, 50 n. 4.

Aymard abdicated in favor of Majolus,[13] and from the charters of new foundations, as in the case of Deols and Romainmoutier. In his will, Berno exhorted his fellow superiors and monks, "to keep staunchly united, to observe with the same exactness as before the established usages in chanting psalms, in keeping silence, in the quality of food and raiment, and above all in the contemning of personal property."[14] Even more specific is the charter drawn up in 917, when Ebbo, a vassal of William of Aquitaine, founded an abbey in his castle of Deols. It called for the recitation of the same number of psalms, the practice of hospitality, abstinence from flesh meat (excluding fish), the wearing of clothes in their natural color, the same obedience toward abbot and brethren, the avoidance of oath taking, the practice of silence and contemplation, the complete elimination of private property and for similar customs and usages.[15] This was also the program of Romainmoutier, founded by Agnes, countess of Burgundy, in 929. It demanded that the monks of the new establishment should always resemble their confreres in the mother-house [Cluny] , as to way of life, the practice of abstinence, the chanting of psalms, the keeping of silence, the practice of hospitality, mutual love, humility, and obedience.[16]

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[13] PL 137, 707f. n. 1.

[14] Testamentum Domni Bernonis abbatis, PL 133, 853-858. Cf. ibid., 857: "De caetero tam praelatos quam et omnes fratres, praesentes videlicet et futuros, per misericordiam Dei qui praesens respicit, deposco, ut inter vos unanimitas ita perseveret, quatenus modum conversationis huc usque retentum, tam in psalmodia, quam in observatione silentii, sed et in qualitate victus et vestitus et insuper in contemptu rerum propriarum." Cf. J. Evans, op. cit., 9.

[15] "Adiuro, ut nullus unquam aut praedicto loco aut rebus nostra vel aliorum donatione ad eum pertinentibus aut monachis ibidem consistentibus aliquam laesionem aut invationem sive diminutionem per qualemcumque occasionem inferre

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praesumat, neque aliquis tanquam de nostra propinquitate praesumens ei quasi muniburdus aut advocatus per eandem propinquitatem existere nitens, hospitalitatem aut aliquod munusculum exigat, sed nec sub iure quidem commutandi aut comparandi de his, que vel ad sepulturam vel in donariis quocunque pacto delata fuerint seu arte ad eundem locum quolibet ordine pertinuerit, aliquid exposcat, sed sicut unusquisque vestrum suas haereditates, portionem absque alterius inquietudine possidere voluerit, vel sic genetrici Dei et apostolis partem quae eis delegata est, tenere liceat... Monachos autem ipsos per nomen totius religionis et sanctae regulae auctoritatem deprecamur et obtestamur, ut secundum propositum monasticae professionis vivant, et si non melius vel ad exempla istorum, quos ibi Berno venerabilis et reverendus abbas primitus posuit quique successores conversentur, eandem psalmodiae quantitatem, eandem hospitalitatis humanitatem, eandem ab omni carne praeter piscium perpetuam abstinentiam tendant. Sed et in vestitu nativum colorem solummodo habeant, eandem obedientiam vel abbati vel sibimet ipsis impendant, ab omni iuramento penitus abstineant, silentio et meditationi studeant, et nihil omnino, quod dici vel nominari potest, proprium habeant, sed et in caeteris consuetudinibus eundem modum observent." E Sackur, op. cit., I, 380f. Cf. ibid., 50, 52 and 63. See also G. Tellenbach, op.cit., 89 and 95. If Déols was not actually a replica of Cluny, it at least complemented it. Ibid., 96.

[16] E. Sackur, op. cit., I, 50. Ibid., 51 the author, comparing the practices of Benedict of Aniane with the usages of early Cluny, as gathered from the life of Odo (PL 133, 53), established a close affinity.

Odo of Cluny further developed the customs of his monastery. In a hymn which he composed in honor of St. Martin, he described the monastic order as being near ruin.[17] To remedy the situation, he undertook many journeys, through France, Aquitaine, parts of Spain, and to Rome, in order to convince his contemporaries that their salvation lay in a return to the ideals of St. Benedict. In this sense he is, if not the founder, then the moving spirit of the Cluniac reform movement in France and in Italy. He stressed that the Rule of St. Benedict must once more be kept in its entirety. To gain his ends, he even restricted the ordinances of the Rule as interpreted in the tradition of Benedict of Aniane, seeing the essence of Benedictinism in a life of silence, prayer, work and frugality.[18] Accordingly, we read in Odo's biography, "On ferial days in the day and night office together they sang 138 psalms" from which they subtracted 14 "for the sake of the weaker brethren." And "during the other octaves [i.e. of the saints] they sang 75 psalms only in the day and night offices together."[19] Knowing that there is no recollection without silence, Odo insisted on a strict observance of the latter, considering it a basic feature of the new monastic ideal. He believed that "[without] silence...the life of a monk is led to no purpose" and that it "is of value as long as he takes pains to keep silence."[20] No one should think the cultivation of silence is an invention of "modern" times, as some say in error, for there is already the example of Isaias, David, and the apostle Paul, imitated by the Fathers Anthony, Hilarius, John (Cassian) and Benedict.[21] Hence the cultivation of sign language, introduced, possibly, already in the times of Berno.[22] Odo worked with equal zeal for frugality in the monk's diet; to him it was a vice to eat flesh meat. In general, he insisted that monks should live "sparingly...possess nothing of their own and...what they possessed they should renounce before all in the manner of the apostles."[23] Nor should they give up "their proper and accustomed dress," by wearing "colored and flowing cowls and tunics and...adorn themselves with a cloak."[24] In the interest of effective and lasting results, he even thought of grouping the diverse abbeys into a strongly centralized congregation whose head would have absolute and unlimited authority.[25] J. Narberhaus, perhaps too strongly, speaks of "world conquest."[26]

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[17] "Monastico nunc ordini Iam pene lapso subveni. Amen." Cf. E. Sackur, op. cit., II, 331.

[18] "Odo, inquam primus Cluniacensis Ordinis Pater qui emortuum iam, et pene ubique sepultum monastici propositi fervorem resuscitare suo conamine aggressus est. Defecerat suo tempore Sanctus: diminutae sunt veritates a filiis hominum. In cunctis pene Europae nostrae finibus, de Monacho, praeter tonsuram et habitum, nihil. Instituit ille divino operi fere tunc solus, et Cluniaci prima iaciens fundamenta, post, huc illucque Religionis semina, quandiu advixit, serere non cessavit." Petrus Venerabilis, ep. VI, 17; PL 189, 425 and PL 182, 569f. Cf. also PL 133, 71f.; U. Berlière, L'Ordre monastique, 194; J. Evans, op. cit., 9f.; Augustin Fliche, La réforme grégorienne, 3 vols. (Paris: E. Champion, 1924-1937), I, 40f. and 47; and LTK II, 1240.

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[19] "In quotidianis diebus inter diei noctisque cursus CXXXVIII canebant psalmos: ex quibus XIV nos dempsimus propter pusillanimorum animos...In octavis quas diximus, LXXV tantum canebant inter praedictos cursus." PL 133, 57.

[20] "Quia de actu silentii sermo se intulit, sine quo videlicet ducenda est pro nihilo vita monachi...Vita enim monachi usque adeo est aliquid, donec sub silentio esse studuerit." PL 133, 67.

[21] "Nullus arbitretur hoc silentium modernis temporibus fuisse inventum, sicut quidam male suspicantes fatentur. Hos namque et Novi Testamenti Patres, Paulus, Antonius, Hilarion, Joannes, ad postremum beatissimus pater Benedictus imitati sunt, et alii quamplurimi." PL 133, 68.

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[22] E. Sackur, op. cit., I, 54.

[23] "Coepit eis suadere, ut ab esu carnium recederent, parceque viverent, nihilque proprium possiderent: id ipsum quod occulte habebant apostolorum more coram omnibus renuntiarent." PL 133, 81. Cf. ibid. 79f., "Non quibamus eos subtrahere ab esu carnis. Ordinavit autem pater noster in eodem coenobio praepositum unum ex nostris fratribus nomine Theodardum. Videns autem ille eo quod virtute nec sanctitate ab eodem vitio eos posset cohibere, coepit ex finitimis regionibus pisces emere."

[24] "Ante hos itaque annos, persistente monastica congregatione apud ecclesiam beati Martini Turonis, coeperunt modum suum, consuetudinesque relinquere, ac propriis voluntatibus vitam suam propositumque corrumpere. Relinquentes namque nativa et assueta vestimenta, coeperunt fucatas, atque fluxas pallioque ornatas circumferre cucullas." PL 133, 75f. For an English translation of these texts see Gerard Sitwell, St. Odo of Cluny Being the Life of St. Odo of Cluny by John of Salerno and the Life of St. Gerald of Aurillac by St. Odo (London: Sheed and Ward, 1958). Odo even threatened with excommunication everyone who "sive detrahenda vel impedienda conversatione, quam novelli fratres tenere visi sunt, contrarius exstiterit." PL 132, 1076.

Berno's and Odo's merit lies, then, in the re-invigoration and spread of the Benedictine Rule as interpreted by Benedict of Aniane and modified by themselves in some instances. (This "editing" of the Rule, however, contained the seeds of a further evolution which had to lead, sooner or later, to a conflict with the old Rule.) On the whole, the early statutes of Cluny endeavored to keep the monk, dedicated to contemplation, out of the traffic of secular and even diocesan life, which means that the desertum and solitudo were present already, or at least, at the beginning.[27]

According to Peter the Venerable, from Odo to Hugh, every abbot of Cluny made changes in the customs of the monastery, as the occasion demanded.[28] However, until the second half of the eleventh century Cluny had no official book of customs. This possibly because in the age of heroes, when love prevailed, there was no need for a law code (which is, anyway, more for the lukewarm), and because the long reign of eminent abbots guaranteed enough stability and adherence to accepted standards. In time, however, disciplinary and liturgical usages were put in writing, in order to ensure their survival; then, to have a legitimate interpretation of a fixed observance at hand and, also, in support of centralization and unification--factors present in every reform movement.[29] B. Albers published three tenth-century versions of early Cluniac usages; one of these, possibly from the time of Odo, is really an elaboration of the constitution of 817, and deals with liturgical observances and the order of the day.[30] Further versions are extant from the years 1000 to 1030 and from the year 1043.[31] Around

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[25] J. Evans, op. cit., 10. Ibid., 11 we read, "there was no question of real affiliation."

[26] J. Narberhaus, op. cit., 75 n. 1. Cf. PL 133, 17: "Odone praesertim abbate Cluniacum super omnia coenobia caput extulit."

[27] G. Schreiber, Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 129. See also E. Sackur, op. cit., I, 62f.

[28] PL 189, 1025.

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[29] E. Tomek, op. cit., 180f.; R. Graham, English Ecclesiastical Studies, 1; U. Berlière, Ascèse Bénédictine, 24-28; idem, "L'étude des réformes monastiques," loc. cit., 139; V. Hermans, op. cit., 116.

[30] Consuetudines Monasticae, II, 1-24. Cf. U. Berlière, L'ordre monastique, 198.

[31] PL 150, 1191-1300. See also B. Albers, Consuetudines Monasticae, I, 1f., II, 31-61. Cf. E. Tomek, op. cit., 53 Rose Graham, "The Relation of Cluny to Some Other Movements of Monastic Reform," Journal of Theological Studies, 15(1914), 181; R. Graham, English Ecclesiastical Studies, 4; U. Berlière, Ascèse bénédictine, 29f.; idem, L'ordre monastique, 198 and EC III, 1885.

1068 the monk Bernard finally undertook a compilation of the customs of Cluny, published under the title Consuetudines cenobii Cluniacensis. It includes the customs of Bernard's predecessors as he had learned them, regulations of the divine office from the time of Odilo, and a more original part dealing with monastic officials, finances, organization and daily life.[32]

Some ten years after Bernard finished his work, the monk Udalric (Ulric),[33] while on a mission to Germany, was asked by his friend William, abbot of Hirsau (1068-1091), to write down for him the customs of Cluny. Udalric agreed and completed the project, after his return to Cluny, between the years 1082 and 1084. At first he wrote only two "books;" when William asked for additional information, he added a third one, in 1085 or, in any case, before 1087.[34]

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[32] M. Herrgott, op. cit., 134-359; Histoire Litteraire de la France (Paris: H. Welter, 1865ff.), VII, 596; R. Graham, "The Relation of Cluny to Some Other Movements of Monastic Reform," loc. cit., 182; R. Graham, English Ecclesiastical Studies, 31; Kassius Hallinger, "Klunys Bräuche zur Zeit Hugos des Grossen (1049-1109). Prolegomina zur Neuherausgabe des Berhard und Udalrich von Kluny," Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgenschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung, 45(1959), 135 and 140; idem, "Woher kommen die Laienbrüder?," Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, 12(1956), 17; H. R. Philippeau, "Pour l'histoire de la coutume de Cluny," Revue Mabillon, 44(1954), 145f.

[33] Udalrie's life can be gathered from several extant vitae (MGH, SS XII, 482; ibid., 251-253, 253-267; AS Jul. III, 146-161; Joannes Mabillon, Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti (Parisiis: apud Ludovicum Billaine, 1668-1701), II, 775-793), as was done by Ernst Hauviller in detail: Ulrich von Cluny. Ein biographischer Beitrag zur Geschichte der Cluniacenser im 11. Jahrhundert (Münster, i. W.: Heinrich Schoningh, 1896), 5 and 20-53. For our purposes it will suffice to note that he was born in 1029, became a monk of Cluny and held various offices until his death in 1093. Already before embracing the monastic state, Udalric gave the impression of being a restless person, always busy with projects of one kind or another. He had a natural inclination for sudden and unwarrented fits of anger. An idealist, he never mastered his emotions. A restless and temperamental,

In assembling the material for his *Consuetudines*--called, paradoxically, *antiquiores*--Udalric made use of past contributions ranging from Berno to Bernard; in fact some authorities contend that he simply abridged and rearranged the customs of Bernard.[35] Udalric himself told William, "Here are the customs of our monastery, as I have found them collected and to the extent I was able to know and remember

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but really talented, man he never learned to keep things in a healthy balance. The consequence was that he dissipated his energies and relied more on chance than on shrewd calculation. His knowledge of man was that gained through the eyes of a sanguine person who sets out with a great deal of optimism, only to turn to bitterness and anger when disappointed. *Ibid*., 4.

[34] E. Hauviller, *op. cit*., 5f., 67f.; *Histoire Litteraire de la France* VII, 596.

[35] PL 149, 635-778. E. Tomek would not call them *consuetudines* but executive ordinances, aimed at putting into practice the spirit of the Rule. *Op. cit*., 174. See also E. Hauviller, *op. cit*.; 69f., R. Graham, "The Relation of Cluny to Some Other Movements of Monastic Reform," *loc. cit*., 185; R. Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, 25-27; H. Philippeau, *op. cit*., 141-145.

[them]."[36] Since Udalric entered Cluny in 1061, it was easy for him to acquaint himself with the customs of the present and the immediate past. E. Tomek feels therefore justified in concluding, "We may rightly see in the customs written down by Udalric the usages practiced during the entire eleventh century."[37] The first book of the Consuetudines deals with the divine office and the liturgical life of the monk, the second with the formation of the young, and the third with details of the monastic administration.[38] K. Hallinger, interested in a critical edition of the usages, pointed out some "neglect and oversight."[39]

Since the Rule of St. Benedict stresses, for the most part, general principles and leaves a great many details unsettled, it is important to study the customs of a monastery, if one wants to find out how the Rule was observed in that particular place; hence the need for an analysis of Udalric's Consuetudines. This in spite of Udalric's attention to minute details which may seem an exercise in hair-splitting to modern readers; in reality, however, it was part of the struggle for higher religious and moral ideals, so that its study may lead to a better understanding of Cluny's reforming activity. The highlights of Cluniac practices were the divine office, the Mass, the cult of the Passion, Holy Cross and the Eucharist, the veneration of the saints--especially Marian devotions--and the so-called *ars moriendi*. In all these Cluny made the world of symbols considerably richer.[40]

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[36] "Habetis enim consuetudines monasterii nostri, quas collectas utcunque notavi, quantum ego scire potui et recordari." PL 149, 638.

[37] E. Tomek, op. cit., 184f.

[38] Ibid., 70.

[39] "Klunys Bräuche," loc. cit., 131f. According to G. de Valous (Le monachisme clunisien, 21), the customs of Cluny developed like this:

When the Cluniac monk took his vows, he promised stability, conversion of morals and obedience, according to

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Aniane

Cluny under Majolus (964)

a.1030
St. Benignus, Dijon   Farfa (a. 1042)   Fleury

Fruttuaria   Bernard   Brogne   Bec

Udalric   St.Dunstan   Lanfranc

Hirsau

[40] R. Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, 1; E. Tomek, *op. cit.*, 295; Odo Casel (ed.), *Heilige Überlieferung. Ausschnitte aus der Geschichte des Mönchtums und des heiligen Kultes*. Festgabe Ildefons Herwegen (Münster, i. W.: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1938), 263-284.

the Rule of St. Benedict.[41] Canversion of morals included poverty--personal poverty, for the community as such could fully own. This poverty was not so much an exercise in mortification than a means to assure the liberty of the spirit and to effect a detachment from material cares needed for a meaningful practice of the monastic vows.[42] This was furthered by the vow of stability, an essential element of Benedictine discipline which counteracted the evils of vagabondage.[43]

Since in Cluny manual labor was done by lay servants, the monk priests of the monastery needed a more spiritual occupation. In this connection people still remembered the words of Paul the Deacon, in his commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict, that reading or the chanting of psalms may legitimately take the place of manual labor.[44] This is why liturgical functions took more and more of the time previously assigned to manual labor, as the Customs of Udalric, with their detailed provisions, conclusively illustrate. Whereas Matins, for instance, originally consisted of twelve psalms, Cluny, besides taking over the *psalmi graduales* (*trina oratio*) from Benedict of Aniane, increased the number to thirty, just as it added to the three psalms of Prime the seven penitential psalms and other prayers. Also, while St. Benedict reduced the lessons read in choir during the summer, Cluny augmented them, with readings from the Old and New Testaments. Thus it took only one week in September to read the whole Genesis, while six nights sufficed to read Isaias. Fourteen prayers (versicles and *preces*) were added to Lauds, four psalms to every canonical hour from Matins to Vespers and two psalms and seventeen versicles to Compline, for the _familiares_ of the monastery. Prime additionally included the Apostles' Creed, the _Confiteor_ and thirty-one versicles. Psalm 69 was said after every canonical hour and eventually also psalm 141, for the deceased. During Prime, psalm 141 was preceded by psalm 50, in commemoration of the deceased abbots of Cluny. In Lent two more psalms were added to every part of the office. Thus it happened that the monks went each day in procession to the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, singing psalms 84 and 86, with antiphon and collect, on the way, and the _Magnificat_ after Vespers, respectively. Also recited in choir were the Matins of all saints, with the corresponding Vespers in the evening. After the evening meal the monks recited psalm 50 while proceeding to the chapel of the Blessed Virgin where they prayed for the deceased members of the community. And, since in time each day brought an anniversary, the entire Office of the Dead, with nine lessons, responses and collects, was said daily. Lauds itself ended with an invocation of the Holy Cross and a lengthy commemoration of the saints, with

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[41] "Ego frater promitto stabilitatem monachi, et conversionem morum meorum, et obedientiam secundum regulam S. Benedicti, coram Deo et sanctis ejus in hoc monasterio quod est constructum in honore BB. Apost. Petri et Pauli, in praesentia domini N. Abbatis." PL 149, 713. Cf. G. de Valous, Le monachisme clunisien, 55.

[42] Michael v. Dmitrewski, Die christliche freiwillige Armut vom Ursprung der Kirche bis zum 12. Jahrhundert (Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte, Heft 53; Leipzig: Walther Rothschield, 1913), 69f. and G. de Valous, Le monachisme clunisien, 63. Cf. also the charter of Ebbo of Déols, especially, "sed et in vestitu nativum colorem solummodo habeant...et nihil omnino quod dici vel nominari potest proprium habeant." E. Sackur, op. cit., I, 381.

[43] Cf. G. de Valous, Le monachisme clunisien, 56. On the full meaning of Benedictine stability see C. Butler, Benedictine Monachism, 125ff.

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[44] "Ille autem qui non potest legere, intellegunt multi quod fuerit intentio sancti benedicti ut iungatur oratio... Alii autem sunt qui intellegunt dicentes, non oratio illi debet iungi, sed solummodo opus. Sed superior sensus est melior; qui dicunt orare. "Florilegium Casinense ex codice CLXXV. Commentarium Pauli Warnefridi Diaconi Casinensis in Regulam S.P.N. Benedicti," *Bibliotheca Casinensis*, Tomus quartus (Monte Cassino: Ex typographia Casinensi, 1880), 138. *Ibid*., 142 we are told, "Si enim contigit ut quis habeat contemplationem tempore lectionis vel laboris; non illi fraudabit lacrimas sed ob hoc potest dimittere lectionem vel laborem et ire in oratorium causa contemplationis." *Ibid*., 96 the author declares, "si post officium delectaveris, inspiratus divina gratia potes remorari in oratorio et ibi lacrimas tuas fundere ita tamen ut abba hoc cognoscat in te." Cf. also *ibid*., 85 on the possibility of choosing between work and reading. Elsewhere Paul the Deacon states, "Nec enim credendum est hoc beato Patri Benedicto displicere, sed potius gratum ei esse, si quis supra id quod ille in Dei

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laudibus instituit, propter Dei amorem adjiciendum esse curavit. Nam et de psalmorum canendorum per singulos septimanae dies divisione, si cui melius visum fuerit quam ipse beatus Pater instituit, ab ipso habet licentiam, ut melius aestimaverit, canere." _Expositio Prologi Regulae Sancti Benedicti_, PL 95, 1595. See also G. de Valous, _Le monachisme clunisien_, 328.

antiphons, versicles and prayers,--among them the holy angels, St. John the Baptist, Saints Peter and Paul, all the apostles and martyrs, St. Martin of Tours, St. Benedict and the abbots of Cluny (Odo, Majolus, Odilo). This litany of the saints eventually included seventy-three names.[45] Peter Damian when visiting Cluny in 1063 observed that "The offices succeed each other with such rapidity, that even in the long days of summer there remains only half an hour in which the brethren can talk in the cloister."[46] But, to continue the list, two and on occasions three, conventual Masses were celebrated each day. The first of these was preceded by a short litany, where only three representatives were singled out from each class of saints. During this Mass the oration of the day was followed by six collects--for St. Peter, kings, princes, bishops, abbots--and, in accordance with local customs, the Introit was repeated three times. The second Mass was to have no more than ten orations--for the deceased Popes, friends, benefactors, confreres, rulers of Spain, relatives, all buried in Cluny and all the faithful departed in general--a practice which received world-wide proportions in the contemporary *milieu* and was further strengthened by associations of prayer.[47] Where monks of other monasteries had various kinds of activities, in library, scriptorium and school, the monks of Cluny preferred to recite more psalms, whether in church, kitchen or garden or even while shaving, and this with a solemnity never done before. "Cluny saw its sole honor in being a house of God and a place of prayer."[48]

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[45] PL 149, 643-651 and 656. Udalric himself is at a loss to explain the reasons for the diversity. "Hoc autem non est mihi compertum quare ista diversitas a majoribus nostris sit inventa." PL 149, 645. Nor is he certain about the exact number of commemorations: "Deinceps nominantur de sanctis plus minus septuaginta tres." Ibid., 650. Cf. also E. Sackur, op. cit., I, 57; E. Tomek, op. cit., 187-190; J. Evans, op. cit., 78n. 2 and 81; S. Hilpisch, "Chorgebet und Frömmigkeit im Spätmittelalter," Heilige Überlieferung, ed. O. Casel, 264; and J. Mahn, L'ordre cistercien, 23. A detailed description of the Clunisc liturgy can also be found in G. de Valous, Le monachisme clunisien: the divine office (330-338), Mass (338-357), confession (357f.), the temporal and sanctoral (358-362), cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary 362f.), cult of the saints (363-365) and other liturgical functions (365-372).

[46] PL 145, 873f. The English translation is by J. Evans, op. cit., 81f. n. 4. . . Peter Damian continues, "Divinae quoque servitutis officia ita apud eos provide distinguuntur, atque pia ex industria protelantur, ut nec longioris diei aliquod spatium a divino vacare possit officio;...ita enim in ecclesiasticis atteruntur officiis ut vix claustrensi et honesta locutione, nisi signis, possit alter alteri intimare." Loc. cit.

In a special chapter, Udalric gives a classification of the liturgical feasts, in six groups altogether. Some of these were celebrated like Sundays. Others had additional distinguishing marks, e.g. the Invitatory (Matins) sung by chanters vested in albs; incensation of the altar during the Benedictus (Lauds); and, on higher feasts, also after the third, seventh and eleventh lesson during Matins; covering of the choir floor with carpets; burning of seven or five candles in front of the altar (instead of the usual three); use of four or two gobelins in the monks' choir and eight or six in the sanctuary, and, on great feasts, in the whole church; ringing of the church bells before and after every canonical hour; use of a great number of lights, among them three huge candelabra behind the main altar and seven candles around the crucifix; also three different covers on the altar, taken off separately after certain parts of the night office. On solemnities there were more processions round the cloister, with the Gospel book, relics and torches carried along.[49] A special ritual was observed when the relics of saints were taken from Cluny for safe-keeping, to protect them from robbers. This involved a senior monk, two candle bearers, a cross bearer, a thurifer, as well as holy water, 3 linen cloths, a cover, a bell and other vessels. While the church bells rang, the whole community accompanied the relic-bearers to the gate, and on its return chanted psalm 119. The same procedure was observed when the relics were brought back to Cluny.[50] On the feast of St. Majolus, the monks, joined by the oblates and, at the gate of the monastery, by the people of Cluny, went in procession with relics, candlesticks, censer, holy water, three banners and bells, to the saint's chapel in the town of Cluny.[51] A great procession was also held on Rogation Day when the monks went barefoot, carrying crosses and relics of saints.[52]

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[47] Cf. *supra*, n. 262 and PL 149, 651 and 716. See also E. Sackur, *op. cit*., II, 228f.; E. Tomek, *op. cit*., 194f.; and S. Hilpisch, "Chorgebet und Frömmigkeit," *loc. cit*., 268.

[48] S. Hilpisch, "Chorgebet und Frömmigkeit," *loc. cit*., 264. See also J. Mahn, *L'ordre cistercien*, 23.

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[49] PL 149, 654-656. See also E. Tomek, op. cit., 211-213 and J. Evans, op. cit., 82f.

Cluny thus clearly accepted the Anianine view that nothing could be too splendid for the house and worship of God. Hence its costly ornaments and its magnificent ritual. On Christmas Day, and on Easter Sunday, for instance, "493 candles burned in hanging chandeliers and five great candelabra burned around the altar; a light shone in each corner of the cloister and an extra light burned all night in the dormitory." On the feast of Candlemas, "half the church was adorned with hangings, twelve candelabra burned before the altar and five behind; on it were three golden chalices and two golden candlesticks. All the community went in procession, bearing relics, holy water, censers and candlesticks, and singing."[53] Years later, St. Bernard took exception to "the immense height, immoderate length, superfluous width, the sumptuous splendor and curious pictures" of the church, constructed in the late eleventh century.[54]

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[50] PL 149, 758f. Cf. E. Tomek, op. cit., 230f.

[51] J. Evans, op. cit., 77.

[52] PL 149, 669f. Cf. ibid., 670: "Nudis tamen pedibus processionem ad ostium ecclesiae sunt recepturi." See also J. Evans, op. cit., 84.

According to E. Tomek, "the veneration of Mary, as practiced at Cluny, surpassed by far every other one practiced up to the time; from here, Marian devotion found its way into the monasteries of the Cluniac obedience of the entire West, especially those of the Roman Empire, reached, through them, the people and developed into that minne service of Our Lady which we so greatly admire in the High Middle Ages."[55] Long before Citeaux, St. Bernard and Prémontré, Cluny already championed a very special Marian devotion, particularly under Odo, Majelus, Odilo and Hugh.[56] It had a chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin,[57] and recited numerous offices in honor of the Blessed Virgin, with the _Credo_ during Mass and the Marian doxology at the end of the hymns. Lauds and the following canonical hours ended with a special Marian commemoration, and in Advent more devotions were added. Udalric lists four great Marian feasts: the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, the Presentation, the Purification and Assumption.[58]

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[53] R. Graham, "The Relation of Cluny to Some Other Movements of Monastic Reform," loc. cit., 186f., and J. Evans, op. cit., 84. See also S. Hilpisch, "Chorgebet und Frömmigkeit," loc. cit., 265-268.

[54] "Oratoriorum immensas altitudines, immoderatas longitudines, supervacuas latitudines, sumptuosas depolitiones, curiosas deptictiones." PL 182, 914. Peter Damian also remarked, "Dicerem...quomodo ecclesia maxima et arcuata, plurimis munita altaribus, sanctorum reliquiis non modice condita, thesauro plurimo et diverso ditissima; quomodo claustrum ingens et ipsa sui pulchritudine ad inhabitandum." PL 145, 874. The first church of Cluny was consecrated in 927. PL 133, 98. The second, 140 feet long and 43 feet high, was consecrated in 981. E. Sackur, op. cit., II, 372-375. The third church, begun in 1089, was consecrated in 1132. R. Graham, English Ecclesiastical Studies, 12. 555 feet in length, it had five naves and was the largest church of the time. One of its altars was consecrated by Urban II on October 15, 1095. RHF XIV, 109.

[55] Op. cit., 222.

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[56] PL 159, 887f. 890, 915. Of Odo his biographer reports, "pater noster consuetudinem tenuit beatam Mariam matrem misericordiae vocare." PL 133, 72. Cf. Stephan Beissel, _Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland während des Mittelalters. Ein Beitrag zur Religionswissenschaft und Kunstgeschichte_ (Freiburg, i. B.: Herder'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1909), 99 and 195. _Ibid._, 310 we read that Odo introduced the custom of reciting the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Saturdays, except during Advent, Christmas, Lent and the season from Easter to Pentecost. And Odilo, cured from paralysis through the intervention of the Blessed Virgin, "omnibus votis dilexit, coluit atque pro viribus in omni vita sua glorificavit." PL 142, 897ff. Cf. E. Tomek, _op. cit._, 45. Cluny's devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary must be emphasized all the more, since Cîteaux and Premontre have generally been considered the chief promoters of Marianism, as G. Schreiber pointed out in _Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters_, 143. See also E. Tomek, _op. cit._, 39, 41, 45, 51, 222 and G. de Valous, _Le monachisme clunisien_, 362f.

[57] "Cum capella, quae est in honorem sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae et s. Petri App. principis." Martinus Marrier, _Bibliotheca Cluniacensis_ (Paris: R. Fouet, 1614), 1f. Cf. E. Tomek, _op. cit._, 35.

[58] PL 149, 654-656 and 669. Cf. _ibid._, 646f., 649f., 655, 659-661, 666f., and 683f. See also E. Tomek, _op. cit._, 224f. and G. de Valous, _Le monachisme clunisien_, 362.

Cluny's relationship with, and indebtedness to Irish and Scottish monasticism has not yet been the subject of extensive research.[59] Somewhat more is known about the influence of the Eastern Church on Cluny since it has been stated that, at least in its early history, Cluny revived certain forms and practices of the Eastern Church. It is certainly no accident that Christodulos, the great renewer of Greek monasticism and founder of the monastery of Patmos (died in 1101), eventually came to Rome (1043) and found the Cluniac reform quite attractive. Cluny had its contact with the East through Rome which welcomed pilgrims from the East even after the separation of 1054 and, in addition, there were Greek monks in southern Italy, not far from Monte Cassino with which Cluny maintained close ties.[60] If one can detect Byzantine influences on Cluniac architecture, sculpture and painting, it must have reached Burgundy *via* Monte Cassino. E. Werner even asserts that the papacy was quite pleased with these contacts, hoping for an eventual reunion resulting from

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[59] The subject is briefly touched in Louis Gougaud, *Les saints irlandais hors d'Irlande* (Louvain: Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, 1936), 54. According to G. Schreiber, Cluny had an altar dedicated to St. Columban (*Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters*, 87) and "aims of the *desertum* and *solitudo* showed at least at the beginning of Cluny. The lines proceed from Columba, Gall and also from Eigil's *Vita Sturmii* to the foundation of Berno of Baume." *Ibid*., 129.

[60] *Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters*, 129 and 414. See also E. Tomek, *op. cit*., 210, and 214-216.

Cluny's affinity with eastern forms.[61] Whatever the case may be, the fact is that ancient and medieval liturgical forms "carry essentially Byzantine characteristics."[62] Unlike Irish and Scotch missionaries, the monks of Cluny did not engage in pastoral ministry, which caused G. Schreiber to remark, "The Eastern Church gained, once more, the upper hand in the ascetic life of the western world. Accordingly, the number of psalms in the office was increased, as compared with the Merovingian and the Frankish period, and the liturgy received its particular and far-reaching cultivation."[63] If "the soul of

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[61] Ernst Werner, Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen der Klosterreform im 11. Jahrhundert (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1953), 60 and 67. See also "Eastern influences on Cluniac architecture, sculpture and painting," ibid., 54-60.

[62] Georg Schreiber, "Religiöse Verbände in mittelalterlicher Wertung. Lateinischer Westen and griechischer Osten," Historisches Jahrbuch, 62-69(1949), 294. A. Baumstark, H. Eberding, A. Jungmann and T. Klauser produced new results in the field. Ibid., nn. 35-37.

[63] G. Schreiber, Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 346. Ibid.,182, Schreiber writes, "The French monks of the eleventh century abstained from the exercise of pastoral functions in their proprietary churches. Every possible worth must be put in this statement...Cluniac monasticism stood in rigid opposition toward pastoral activities by its members. For this Burgundian center of reform which raised the liturgy to such splendor, saw in the conventual above all a man of common prayer. This monk was to render to God the tribute of solemn worship made possible through the fact that he turned away from the world and at thesame time was denied the distraction of pastoral activities." For this reason the churches in question were staffed by secular priests. Ibid., 185. Cf. also E. Werner, Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen, 19.

Cluny was liturgical prayer,"[64] and even perpetual prayer, this was very much akin to that of the solitaries mentioned by John Cassian. Moreover, the revived devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, long thought to have been of Cluniac origin, could already be found in Pachomius and others, as can be gathered from existing similarities.[65] And Cluny's reintroduction of the cult of Mary can undoubtedly be traced to Byzantium which at the time was the Marian city *par excellence*. [66] Also, while E. Tomek still felt that the preparation of hosts as described by Udalric was an original Cluniac practice, G. Schreiber was able to point to similar Pachomian practices, adopted also by the Nestorians and Armenians.[67] E. Werner investigated the eastern influences in Cluniac architecture, sculpture and painting and called attention to previously unknown or forgotten eastern elements in the liturgy of Cluny. These include the cults of the Holy Cross and of the Blessed Virgin, the multiplication of Masses in intercession for the deceased, the preparation of hosts, the lighting of a candle on Mauday Thursday, in adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, the manner of receiving Holy Communion, and the granting of the mixtum, i.e. one fourth of a pound of bread and a little wine in mid-morning, and of the pigmentum, i.e. wine mixed with honey and spices on feast days. A further evidence is the minutely detailed regulation of the monk's life and the emphasis on the representative, the splendid, the sacral, with a corresponding de-emphasis of physical labor. Some eastern elements were, of course, known before 910, but they were given a special meaning by the great Burgundian abbey, as in the case of the trishagion on Good Friday, the distribution of unconsecrated hosts on Holy Thursday, and the institution of oblates and laybrothers.[68]

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[64] U. Berlière, *L'ordre monastique*, 195.

[65] PL 149, 757f. Cf. also G. Schreiber, *Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters*, 148f. and E. Tomek, *op. cit.*, 205.

[66] G. Schreiber, *Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters*, 410f.

[67] *Ibid.*, 148f. Cf. also E. Tomek, *op. cit.*, 199f.

All this helped Cluny to produce its own affective spirituality which gained as much prominence in the Middle Ages as speculative spirituality. Rejecting high-flung theories, subtle demonstrations and impractical abstractions and unaffected by intellectualistic scholasticism, it looked for what appeals to the heart in its search for God. Ascetical and mystical exercises had but one aim for the Cluniac:

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[68] Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen, 36-53 and nn. 164-273. See also E. Tomek, op. cit., 233 and St. Basil's provisions about oblates. PG 31, 955. For a comparison of Byzantine and Benedictine monasticism see Bernard Bligny, L'Eglise et les ordres réligieux dans le royaume de Bourgogne aux XIe et XIIe siècles (Grenoble: Imprimérie Allier, 1960). 249f. and idem, "Un aspect de la vie réligieuse," loc. cit., 280f. Most useful, if not indispensable, is also Clément Lialine, "Monachisme oriental et monachisme occidental," Irénikon, 33(1960), 435-459.

to produce acts of loving God, without speculating on the nature of this love. His piety found strength and nourishment in the celebration of the divine office; and because it issued from the liturgy, it remained eminently practical. It moved the monk to meditate on the mysteries of the earthly life of Christ and thus gave rise, long before Cîteaux, to the cultivation of the humanity of Christ, a characteristically Benedictine and eminently Cluniac devotion.[69] Thus, according to S. Hilpisch, "not decor, but affectus, inner piety, became the watchword of the new piety" which received its stirrings from the liturgy, and behind the grandiose pageantry was really "simple adoration."[70]

The first abbots of Cluny "preferred a less elementary form of asceticism to the extreme and at times repugnant austerity then in vigor." While they demanded rigorous "bodily propriety," the customs they introduced were discreet and proved workable.[71]

In matters of food, the provisions of the Benedictine Rule were not forgotten; yet numerous exceptions were made, and in time these became the rule. The Cluniac monk's daily menu consisted of dried beans and vegetables from the garden. At noon, he atehis mixtum, a ¼ pound of bread and some wine, and on weekdays he had either a pitancia, a dish of eggs and cheese, or a generale, i.e. eggs cooked with pepper, and pastry. On Sundays and Thursdays the usual dish was fish; fowl could be eaten only by the sick. Better dishes were served on special feasts; then onions and little cakes took the place of beans. On Sundays, Thursdays in Lent and "double" festivals little hot cakes were given to everyone, and on the five greatest feasts, a little plum cake. On Good Friday they ate only dry bread and uncooked vegetables. The vegetables were cooked with fat, except on Ember Days and during Lent, and seasoned with salt (and pepper, if the beans were still green and tasteless). As a rule, the Cluniac monk received one pound of bread for the day, but if he ate it at dinner, he received another half pound at supper. From Easter to Whitsunday the monks had dinner at midday and ate their second meal at sunset. This evening meal consisted only of bread and wine, but after Quinquagesima Sunday a generale was served. From then until September dinner was after Nones, as was the case from September 14, feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, until Lent. During this period a second meal was served only on Sundays and feast days, including the octaves of Christmas, the feast of St. Martin of Tours, and Epiphany. In Lent there was only one meal, taken at sunset. On work-days, the pitancia and the pigmentum at breakfast was more substantial.[72]

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[69] G. de Valous, Le monachisme clunisien, 329. See also E. Tomek, op. cit., 286.

[70] "Chorgebet und Frömmigkeit," loc. cit., 269.

[71] Guy de Valous, "Le domaine de l'abbaye de Cluny aux Xe et XIe siècles," Annales de l'Académie de Macôn, série III, 20(1920-1921), 310.

As can be seen from the preceding, while St. Benedict gave no meat to the monks, except to the sick, and granted wine only reluctantly and limited food to two (three) meals a day, Cluny introduced a number of exceptions (pitancia, generale, pigmentum). In time these became the general rule so that with the exception of fast days only very few ferial days remained. This also, because a generale was granted on every twelve lesson feast, and on a number of other days the more simple pitancia was converted into a generale. Of course, the strenuous schedule of the monks and the rigor of the climate called for special considerations--and these were foreseen by St. Benedict himself--still, the practices of Cluny meant a further adaptation of the already modified usages of Benedict of Aniane.[73]

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[72] "De coquis," PL 149, 726-728 and "De utensilibus coquinae," ibid., 729f. Cf. also ibid., 659, 696, 711f., 758, 760-763 and 786. See also E. Tomek, op. cit., 200, n. 1, 253-258; R. Graham, English Ecclesiastical Studies, 35; J. Evans, op. cit., 72, 89f., 91 and G. de Valous, Le monachisme clunisien, 310.

[73] E. Tomek, op. cit., 257f. and J. Mahn, L'ordre cistercien, 23. Ibid., 25 Mahn compares the Rule of St. Benedict with the provisions of Aachen (817) and the customs of Cluny.

The same can be said about St. Benedict's prescriptions on clothing. The wardrobe of the Cluniac monk made up an impressive and extensive list: two tunics; two cowls; two shirts; two pairs of drawers; two pairs of day shoes with straps; one pair of night boots, of felt for the winter, another without felt, for the summer; two pairs of gaiters; three pelisses, or instead of one of them, a sort of fur short coat or kilt; a hood made of skins; five pairs of stockings; a linen belt; a leather strap, with knife and sheath; and a case with needle and cotton. At Christmas each monk received a new cowl and a cape, on Maundy Thursday, new shoes and on the feast of St. Martin, new socks; robes and drawers were distributed as needed.[74]

This change in the monk's wardrobe resulted, basically, from external causes: a rising civilization and a difference of time. Based on actual evolution, it took into account the realities of the time and thus remained, according to Tomek, within the spirit of the Rule.[75]

When material wealth and the availability of lay workers dispensed the monk from field labor as a means of procuring his daily existence, manual labor as such remained only a symbolic remedy against the vice of idleness. Already centuries before, Cassian considered manual labor a distraction from contemplation, and Paul the Deacon expressed his belief that reading and the chanting of psalms may take the place of manual labor. In Cluny, which rigidly opposed the care of souls, this was done, above all, by extra offices in choir, by pageantry in the liturgy and, to a lesser extent, intellectual activities, such as the study of the liberal arts and reading. Reading when done in common--after supper, when two meals were eaten, and after Vespers, if there was only one meal--was usually taken from the Collationes of Cassian, dealing with the lives of the desert monks. Not counting the copying of manuscripts and the training given to the young, the necessary house work was allowed to count as manual labor, and this included such activities as the mending and washing of clothes, cleaning of shoes and sandals, the baking of bread, cooking of food, taking care of the kitchen and cutting of each other's hair. Manual labor as prescribed by the Rule was considered fulfilled, if on occasional days the community went outside the cloister to strip beans of their leaves and to pull out weeds; but even then the whole undertaking was reduced to a mere ritualism. The congregation started out in procession, singing psalms. Prayers continued in the garden. After working on beans and weeds, the group returned, again in procession. The same performance was repeated in the afternoon. In the garden all sat down and, first, listened to the superior's homily. Then followed the weeding and chanting of psalms which continued also during the return trip.[76] Psalms were also recited during house work and similar exercises, including shaving.[77]

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[74] PL 149, 707f. and 760-762. See also E. Tomek, op. cit., 249-251; R. Graham, English Ecclesiastical Studies, 33; J. Evans, op. cit., 78f. and J. Mahn, L'ordre cistercien, 25.

[75] E. Tomek, op. cit., 252f.

In view of impressions gained from such practices, G. de Valous felt the need to emphasize that "contrarily to what has been repeated,--and the fact merits being noted in itself--manual labor did have its place from the beginnings of Cluny; it has never completely ceased to be practiced there, i.e. in certain circumstances and with regard to certain of the religious; but it has been considered solely as a secondary means of sanctification, and not as an essential task."[78] U. Berlière saw equally positive results in the gradual abandonment of agricultural labor, i.e. advances made in the arts, in the cultivation of letters, teaching, copying of manuscripts and literary productivity. But he perceived also danger signals.[79]

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[76] "De opere manuum," PL 149, 675-677. Udalric remarks, "ego saepius vidi, non est aliud quam fabas novas et nondum bene maturas de folliculis suis egerere, vel in horto malas herbas et unutiles, et quae bonas herbas suffocabant, eruere et aliquando panes formare in pistrino." Ibid., 675f. Ibid., 677 Udalric records, "quando fient in sequenti nocte duodecim lectiones, minime bis operantur." Cf. also ibid., 707f. and 729f. See, in addition, E. Tomek, op. cit., 243f.; Henri Leclercq, L'Ordre Bénédictine (Paris: Les Editions Rieder, 1930), 43f.; R. Graham, "The Relation of Cluny to Some Other Movements of Monastic Reform," loc. cit., 182; R. Graham, English Ecclesiastical Studies, 167; U. Berlière, Ascèse bénédictine, 51-54; J. Evans, op. cit., 85, 87 and 90; J. Mahn, L'ordre cistercien, 24; François Coucherat, Cluny au onzième siècle. Son influence réligieuse, intéllectuelle et politique (Macôn: Académie de Macôn, 1951), 36-39 and 77-87; G. de Valous, Le domain de l'abbaye de Cluny," loc. cit., 310; idem, Le monachisme clunisien, 309; H. DeWarren, "Le monachisme à l'apparition de saint Bernard," loc. cit., 52; and EC III, 1887. On Paul the Deacon, see supra, n. 48.

[77] PL 149, 760. See also E. Tomek, op. cit., 271 and G. de Valous, "Le domaine de l'abbaye de Cluny," loc. cit., 310.

The community of Cluny consisted of priests, lay monks (the so-called _nutriti_, from the ranks of the _oblati_), of _conversi_ (in later times) and, finally, of _affiliati_, _addicti_ and _servi_.[80] The traditional list of officials was similarly increased to include, in Udalric's enumeration, the abbot, the grand prior, the deans, the claustral prior, the _circatores_, the masters of the boys, the _precentor_ and _armarius_, the chamberlain, _apocrisiarius_, cellarer, keeper of wine, gardener, keeper of the refectory, and of the hostel, the constable, almoner and infirmarian.[81]

Following Greek practices, St. Benedict had admitted oblates into his monastery, as the Rule testifies. By the time of Udalric, however, the system had its drawbacks in many places so that the author of the Consuetudines applauded its suppression at Hirsau which, in his words to abbot William, brought so many drinkers, one-handed, deaf, blind, hunch-backed and leprous infants into religious communities, causing the ruin of a great number of monasteries in both France and Germany.[82] Cluny, however, retained the institution, though not for purposes of education, and Udalric described the offering, vesting, reception, supervision, choir and chapter obligations, education, discipline, monastic investiture and profession of these oblates at great length.[83] In fact, the institution reached its high point at Cluny. The boys took part in every monastic exercise, causing Udalric to exclaim with satisfaction, "Whenever I saw with what zeal the boys are guarded day and night, I said in my heart, it would be difficult for a king's son to be trained with greater diligence in apalace than even the smallest boy at Cluny."[84]

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[78] _Le monachisme clunisien_, 311.

[79] _L'ordre monastique_, 285. Cf. H. DeWarren, "Le monachisme à l'apparition de saint Bernard," _loc. cit._, 52.

[80] EC III, 1885.

[81] PL 149, 731-769. See also R. Graham, _English Ecclesiastical Studies_, 31-39 and J. Evans, _op. cit._, 66f. 70-72 and 75.

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[82] " [homines saeculares] non magnopere curantes de alio, quam de hac sola temporali vita, postquam domum habuerint, ut dicam, plenam filiorum et filiarum, aut si quis eorumdem claudus erit aut mancus, surdaster aut caecus, gibbosus aut leprosus, vel aliud hujusmodi quod eum aliquo modo saeculo facit minus acceptum, hunc quidem impensissimo voto ut monachus fiat offerunt Deo, quamquam plane non propter Deum." PL 149, 635. "Monasterii tui legem promulgasti, ut opus sit praefatis saecularibus alium sibi nidum providere ubi reponant pullos suos abortivos, velut exhaereditatos... Ego autem certus sum illam te radicem funditus exstirpasse, ex qua sola praecipue omnia sunt monasteria destructa quae destructa sunt vel in Teutonica vel in Romana lingua." Ibid., 637. See also E. Tomek, op. cit., 233 and G. de Valous, Le monachisme clunisien, 40-44.

[83] PL 149, 741-748. Cf. E. Tomek, op. cit., 232-240.

St. Benedict, it seems, had no laybrothers in his monastery, an institution whose origin is hardly anterior to the eighth century. By the tenth century, however, distinctions were already made between monachi litterati on the one hand, and monachi illitterati, idiotae, barbati. Udalric mentions nutriti, i.e. those who belonged to Cluny from childhood; conversi, persons who entered the monastery at a later age; and servants. But the conversi were in a sense monks: they had their obligations in choir, took vows, received the habit and the cuculla of the monks, could advance in the hierarchy of offices, become priests and even be elected abbots.[85] G. de Valous calls them "semi-monks."[86]

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[84] "Saepenumero videns quo studio die noctuque custodiuntur, dixi in corde meo difficile fieri posse ut ullus regis filius majore diligentia nutriatur in palatio quam puer quilibet minimus in Cluniaco." PL 149, 747. See also R. Graham, English Ecclesiastical Studies, 153f. According to J. Evans, "Cluny was definitely not educational in its aim. Under Hugh the number of such oblates was reduced to six." Op. cit., 47.

[85] K. Hallinger, "Woher kommen die Laienbrüder?," loc. cit., 15. Cf. idem, Gorze-Cluny (Studia Anselmiana, 22-25; Roma: Herder, 1950-1951), I, 522-524.

[86] Le monachisme clunisien, 44 and 47.

More to the point is K. Hallinger's conclusion,

> The conversi of the 'eighties (1080) were monks in Cluny. They should in no way be identified with the conversi-brothers, emerging all over during the same century, who were not monks...Let us keep in mind: The later laybrothers are not the successors of the times of Udalric. The conversi of Udalric in the 'eighties of the eleventh century belong to another, to an older and specifically monastic way of life. With today's laybrothers they share only the same Latin denomination.[87]

Around 1146 Peter the Venerable (1122-1156) listed conversi-barbati who belonged to his monastery, but were not monks. These are the laybrothers, as we understand them today. Their origin lies, then, between the times of Udalric, who knew nothing about them, and Peter the Venerable, who mentioned them in his Statutum. An analysis of the privileges of Urban II and Paschal II enabled K. Hallinger to conclude with reasonable certainty that a privilege of Pope Paschal, from the year 1100, offers the key to the question. It was here that among "those who were accepted by Cluny and could live there, the laici are mentioned for the first time," which means that Cluny was given the right to have conversi. Hence, K. Hallinger concludes, "The codification of a right hitherto never claimed by Cluny points, therefore, to a newly arisen legal situation on the part of the famous recipient abbey. Cluny must have taken over...the younger laybrother system during the last decade of the eleventh century," and thus put an end to a further socio-monastic differentiation within the monastery.[88]

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[87] K. Hallinger, "Woher kommen die Laienbrüder?," loc. cit., 15.

Cluny's ambition in 910 to follow the Rule in the tradition of Benedict of Aniane made the monastery a center of renewal from the very beginning. This vocation also grew from the fact that Cluny was in charge of other monasteries from its earliest days. For one, Cluny had its own offspring; then there were monasteries which gladly submitted to Cluniac leadership, for purposes of a reform. Thus Cluny was destined to develop into an order. But the question is whether the early ties between Cluny and its followers were already indicative of a Cluniac congregation. According to Mabillon, the idea of a congregation as conceived by Benedict of Aniane was very much in Berno's mind. "Following these footsteps, Berno already headed a number of monasteries. In these he sought to have uniform observances, and during his lifetime none of these abbeys and cells escaped his attention."[89] Moreover in his will Berno concluded, "if there be which God forbid, a stubborn deviation from any of them i.e. regulations on the psalmody, silence, food, clothing and personal property we order on the authority of the Holy Rule that the priors (superiors) of both places should assist each other to correct the error."[90] But while Mabillon saw no trace of centralization in Berno's will, B. Albers, the erudite (modern) student of ancient monastic usages, disagreed:

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[88] *Ibid*., 17ff.

[89] J. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, VII, 67.

> I cannot adhere to his Mabillon's view. To me, the sentence "that the priors of both places should assist each other" means precisely to establish a central authority (*Zentralinstanz*) which was empowered to call even abbots before its *forum*, in case they stubbornly permitted themselves to become guilty of faults. A centralization... is therefore contemplated and attempted by Berno. Everything was to be uniform, in clothing, food and drink, in the psalmody, etc.[91]

Berlière, too, perceived in the unity of spirit and observance and in the bonds of charity and mutual assistance, if not the postulates of a hierarchical grouping, then the "embryo of a congregation."[92]

In 929, under Odo, the monastery of Romainmoutier was attached to Cluny so that it might form a single community with the latter. The event marked a new phase in monastic history: the establishment of intermonastic ties of a legal nature, i.e. the exchange of traditional monastic autonomy for the idea of a congregation of monasteries owing allegiance to a single head, the abbot of Cluny.[93] As J. Evans remarked, "Like his predecessors, Odo reformed many monasteries, but unlike them he tended to make these monasteries subject to Cluny. It was with him that the idea of a Cluniac order may be said to begin."[94] With Pope John XI, the papacy added its support to the movement, as can be seen from the privilege of 931. The trend continued, so that by Hugh's time Cluny headed some two hundred monasteries, many of them dependent priories.[95] This new concept of a monastic order had, undoubtedly, its merits. An order was necessarily more powerful than a single monastery or abbey, no matter how strong, and could give a more effective protection to the smaller houses exposed to the vicissitudes of the feudal world. Moreover it promoted unity and made collective action a reality in an era in which the foundations of feudal integration were laid. With the progress of civilization the whole social fabric of the West came gradually to be organized on a larger scale: Kingdoms were built out of duchies, and great estates formed out of lesser holdings. And as more and more monasteries came under Cluniac influence, Cluny and centralization became practically interchangeable.[96] The Cluniac system was more primitive, however, than later monastic organizations, for its edifice rested on rather dissimilar bricks: on royal monasteries, episcopal and papal Eigenkloster, dependent abbeys and priories, and mere cells. It was, thus, a rather complex unit.[97] The bonds which linked the Cluniac houses were, briefly, the visits of the abbots of Cluny, the codification of Cluniac usages, the suppression of abbatial titles in the dependent houses and, in later times, the convocation of general chapters. The priors of the various houses were all nominees of the abbot of Cluny, and with all their monks were subjects of the same abbot. Every monk took vows in his name and with his sanction. And abbeys restored or reformed by Cluny were quickly reduced to a dependent and subordinate status.[98]

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[90] PL 133, 857. See also J. Evans, *op. cit*., 78.

[91] *Untersuchungen*, 22. See also *ibid*., 21 and J. Evans, *op. cit*., 44.

[92] *L'ordre monastique*, 193.

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[93] K. Hallinger, Gorze-Kluny, II, 742, 744, 753 and 766. Cf. also G. Tellenbach, op. cit., 117.

[94] Op. cit., 18.

[95] R. Graham, English Ecclesiastical Studies, 7. Cf. E. Tomek, op. cit., 38.

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[96] U. Berlière, L'ordre monastique, 216; J. Evans, op. cit., 18, 44; K. Hallinger, Gorze-Kluny, II, 736f. According to G. de Valous, "They believed in the necessity of collective action; this new conception of the monastic vocation displays itself very distinctly in the external organization of Cluny." "Le domaine de l'abbaye de Cluny," loc. cit., 310.

[97] K. Hallinger, Gorze-Kluny, 736f.

[98] F. Coucherat, op. cit., 17-28; U. Berlière, L'ordre monastique, 215. J. Evans (op. cit., 25f.) quotes from a papal confirmation of Hugh the Great's powers, to illustrate the point in question. "Ut priores, monachi ejusdem ordinis ubilibet commorantes ac loca eorum...subjecta sint abbati Cluniacensi in spiritualibus et temporalibus pleno jure, promittantque ipsi abbati, quoties novus instituitur,

The establishment of a genuine order under a monarchical head, soon to be imitated by Grandmont, the Carthusians and Cîteaux, called for the substitution of the traditional decanatus system with what is called the Cluniac priory system, in the early eleventh century. This implied a modification of the Rule which placed a dean (decanus) over ten brethren, a modification made necessary by the needs of its manors. Accordingly the decanus became an official of the manorial administration under the Grand Prior, while the dependent priory represented the characteristic individual members of the congregation under the central monastery of Cluny.[99] The system of concatenated monasteries both within and without Burgundy, made Cluny one of the most powerful monasteries in the West and actively furthered, what Schreiber called, "the European idea."[100] The congregation of Cluny, as recognized by the law on November 5, 1073, was based on the priory system, on stable laws (ordinatio), and the (arch) abbot's right to visit his dependencies. In the words of B. Albers, "the

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obedientiam; manualem et benedictionem recipiant ab eodem et reddant ad mandatum ipsius abbatis de singulis quae ad administrationem spiritualem et temporalem pertinent." Cf. Revue Mabillon, 1(1905), 6.

[99] PL 149, 738-740. Cf. J. Evans, op. cit., 68; G. Tellenbach, op. cit., 118; E. Werner, Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen, 12; and EC III, 1885.

[100] G. Schreiber, Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 415. Cf. LTK II, 1240.

trend toward centralization moves like a red thread through the history of Cluny."[101] To prove his point, he cited the conclusion of Aymard's speech with which he introduced his successor Majolus, reiterating, basically, the words of Berno

> We entrust the administration of the monastery of Cluny...with all abbeys, places and cells acquired in their [Berno's and Odo's] time or ours, to the just mentioned brother [Majolus] that order be observed according to St. Benedict and theinstitutions of our Fathers and that things be administered in all integrity...[102]

Cluny took on added responsibilities when, urged on by his brother Geoffrey II of Sémur, abbot Hugh agreed to found a convent at Marcigny, in the year 1056.[103] Regular life began in 1061, with Ermengarde, Hugh's and Geoffrey's sister, as prioress. Some nuns lived in common, others stayed in cells. To ensure complete separation from the world, a priory of monks, with twelve and eventually thirty members, was erected nearby, to look after the spiritual and temporal needs of the nuns, to whom seclusion was a serious matter. In the words of a contemporary,

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[101] *Untersuchungen*, 22. See also EC III, 1888.

[102] "Et sicut Cluniacense monasterium...praedicto fratri ordinandum tradimus, atque tam ad ordinem servandum secundum beatum Benedictum et instituta patrum nostrorum, quam ad res disponendas sub omni integritate propitia divinitate vinculis obedientiae adstringimus." J. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum*, VII, 771.

[103] "Non solum de salute sollicitus virorum, mulieres etiam de naufragio hujus magni maris et spatiosi ad salutis portum educere curavit, eis viam vitae et doctrinis insinuans, et sumptibus sternens. In suo namque patrimonio, quod Marciniacus dicitur, quoddam monasterium et idoneas religioni construxit officinas, ubi feminae...Christi complexibus astringi mererentur...Has profecto sub regulis hujusmodi vivere constituit, ut earum nulla vel rei necessitate familiaris, vel quolibet negotio, conspectibus virorum offerretur... Procuratores earum, procuratores religiosi atque prudentes, sub quorum custodia nec possessio distractionem, nec honestas dispendium formidabat." PL 159, 868. Cf. *ibid*., 949. See also GChr IV, 486f.; J. Evans, *op. cit*., 29 and R. Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, 18 and 21.

> The world being dead to them, they were dead to the world, and becoming unseen by all, after their vocation they laid over their eyes and faces a thick veil, like a shroud...Enclosed in this cloister of salvation, or rather buried alive in this sepulchre, they awaited to change a temporary prison for the freedom of eternity, and to change their burial for resurrection.[104]

Their love of seclusion is evident also from the nuns' refusal to leave their enclosure when the buildings caught fire, even though Hugh of Lyons, the papal legate, had urged them to seek safety on the outside. In the name of her fellow sisters, Gisla told the archbishop,

> My father, the fear of God and the command of our abbot keep us enclosed within these limits until we die. Under no pretext, in no circumstances, can we pass the bounds assigned to our penitence, unless he who enclosed us in the name of the Lord should himself permit it. Therefore order us not to do that which is forbidden; but rather command the fire to draw back in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Whereupon, as Peter the Venerable reports, the fire subsided.[105]

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[104] Translated by J. Evans, op. cit., 29. Cf. ibid., 30 n. 2 and F. Coucherat, op. cit., 66-75.

[105] Petrus Venerabilis, De miraculis, I, 22, PL 189, 890f. Cf. J. Evans, op. cit., 30.

From its earliest beginnings, Cluny was the recipient of donations, in the form of lands and churches, in expectation of spiritual favors in return. According to E. Sackur, there were 270 donations under Berno and Odo, 219 under Aymard, 760 under Majolus, and 809 under Odilo, so that by the second half of the eleventh century the abbey had received extensive donations practically all over France.[106] The donors felt that the monks' prayer could move the Lord. Their motives were numerous: Some wished to join a prayer association, others asked for prayers for deceased relatives, burial in the monastery, inclusion in the canon of the Mass, enrolment in the list of benefactors and still others wished to express their gratitude for being accepted into the monastery or to enlist the monks' prayer before going on a pilgrimage to a distant land. Women liked to donate churches, in hope of their own and their children's salvation. Donations were also made by the lower classes, to seek protection against feudal arbitrariness and to safeguard a certain minimal independent existence. Here, too, the motives of the donors were fear of hell, the wish to benefit from the monks' prayers, concern for the deceased and burial at Cluny. Donations were also made to get a son raised by Cluny until he was old enough to join the community, to find relief in time of a natural catastrophe (bad harvest, famine and similar disasters), and to obtain a quid pro quo when entrusting valuables to the monastery before a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Bishops, as a rule, were favorably disposed toward the transfer of possessions to Cluny and its dependencies, a practice definitely opposed to the so-called Eigenkirche principle, for the priors of the Cluniac houses were all subjects and nominees of the abbot of Cluny. Cluny, with its attachment to Rome as a counterweight to episcopal and lay feudalism, fought in fact for more than two centuries to wrest private churches from the laity in order to bring them back under Church control. This endeavor met with special success in France where a reform-minded episcopate actively supported the Gregorian program of freeing the Church from unjustified lay control. In this connection Cluny was able to influence the laity through the promotion of the cult of the dead and the formation of prayer associations. This had its inevitable effect on the living, causing them to give up churches, offerings and tithes. The result was a de-laicization of the lower churches (Niederkirche), a strengthening of the diocesan bonds, the abandonment of a bothersome co-ownership, in a word, a parish completely under Church auspices and, last but not least, a definite improvement of the lower clergy's situation.[107]

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[106] E. Sackur, op. cit., II 407 n. 1. Cf. Augustine Fliche, Le règne de Philippe Ier, Roi de France (1060-1108) (Paris: Société Française d'Imprimérie et de Libraire, 1912), 458.

According to the authors of Gallia Christiana, Cluny was "from its beginning free from all power, except the apostolic."[108] As the charter of foundation stated, "they were to have the protection of those same apostles [Peter and Paul] and the defense of the Roman Pontiff." This meant, as William of Aquitaine further elaborated,

> that, from this day, those same monks there congregated shall be subject neither to our yoke, nor to that of our relatives, nor to the sway of the royal might, nor to that of any earthly power. And, through God and all His saints, and by the awful day of judgment, I warn and admonish that no one of the secular princes, no count, no bishop, not even the pontiff of the aforesaid Roman see, shall invade the property of these servants of God, or alienate it, or diminish it, or exchange it, or give it as a benefice to any one, or set up any prelate over them against their will.[109]

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[107] E. Sackur, op. cit., II, 228, 231, 456. See also G. Schreiber, Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 99-125; Paulus Volk, "Georg Schreiber, Gemeinschaften des Mittalalters, Recht und Verfassung, Kult und Frömmigkeit," Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung, 35 (1948), 421 and 423; E. Werner, Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen, 6f., 12, 21-26; and EC III, 1887.

[108] "Fuit Cluniacum...a sua fundatione liberum ab omni potestate praeterquam apostolica." Loc. cit., IV, 1119. On exemption before the tenth century see Gaston Letonnellier, L'abbaye exempte de Cluny et le Saint-Siège. Etude sur le développement de l'exemption clunisienne des origines jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle (Archives de la France Monastique, vol. 22; Ligugé: Abbaye Saint-Martin, 1923), 13-22.

[109] "Placuit etiam huic testamento inseri, ut ab hac die nec nostro nec parentum nostrorum, nec fascibus regiae

According to an inscription in a fourteenth-century copy of the charter, entitled Will of William the Pious, "From this will it is evident that the Cluniacs are exempt from the time of their foundation."[110] But William could not grant exemption; this was done by the Pope. In March, 931, John XI confirmed the provisions of the charter[111] and subsequent pontiffs acted likewise. In 952 Agapitus II stressed "that the said monastery pertains to the Apostolic See, to be protected and promoted."[112] Gregory V (996-999) went one step further, to ordain, "nor are the brethren of that place [Cluny] , wherever they may be, affected by the bond of anathema or excommunication of any bishop."[113] In 1016, Benedict VIII ruled "that it [Cluny] be free from all subjection to any person, whether king, bishop or count, so

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magnitudinis, nec cujuslibet terrenae potestatis jugo subjiciantur iidem monachi ibidem congregati. Neque aliquis principum saecularium, non comes quisquam, nec episcopus quilibet, non pontifex supradictae sedis Romanae; per Deum; et in Deum omnesque sanctos ejus, et tremendi judicii diem contestor, deprecor, ne invadat res ipsorum Dei servorum. Non distrahat, non minuat, non procamiet, non beneficiet aliquam personam, non aliquem praelatum super eos contra eorum voluntatem constituat." PL 133, 851.

[110] "Testamentum Guillelmi Pii...Et per illud testamentum apparet quod Cluniacenses sunt exempti a fundacione.: Cf. M. Marrier, Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, 1f., and W. Williams, Monastic Studies, 30.

[111] PL 132, 1056.

[112] M. Marrier, Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, 274. Cf. G. Tellenbach, op. cit., 231.

[113] W. Williams, Monastic Studies, 31.

that its obligations are only to God, to Saint Peter and to the Supreme Pontiff of the Apostolic See. This freedom was strengthened and confirmed by all our predecessors...both as to itself as well as to all monasteries, cells, cultivated and uncultivated lands."[114] Later in the century Cluny jealously fought for the preservation of its privileges obtained from the papacy. Alexander II, Gregory VII and Urban II fully agreed. The latter had, in fact, more sympathies toward Cluny than any of his predecessors: He confirmed the privileges of the monastery, granted the *pontificalia* to its abbots and, in a bull of 1095, ordered that no one should sue Cluny for altars, churches and tithes acquired before Gregory VII's legislation on the subject or obtained with proper episcopal authorization.[115]

To U. Berlière, "The Cluniac program is liberty *vis à vis* the secular power, for such freedom is the safeguard of independence and discipline."[116] And K. Hallinger insists that, from its inception, Cluny sponsored a strongly anti-feudal program--really the culmination of efforts undertaken by Benedict Biscop, Bede, Boniface and Benedict of Aniane--as can be deduced from its 200-year-struggle to bring the so-called proprietary churches (Eigenkirche) once more under Church administration.[117] According to P. Schmitz, Cluny's success lay in the fact that it was able to transpose the ideals of feudal society from the social to the religious level.[118] De Valous, a more recent authority on Cluny, saw things differently, however: "Whether it wished it or not, Cluny was influenced by the society that surrounded it. It was affected, perhaps more than any other order, because its members were feudal, and it owed a great many features of its organization to the feudal system. In those centuries, when all power was based on the ownership of land, it was absolutely necessary for a monastery to secure a vast estate of landed property."[119] And, understandably, for in the Middle Ages all power and economic existence rested on land; without it no monastery could possibly subsist or, much less, advance.[120] Moreover, as E. Werner put it, it enabled the monastery to offer economic, political and ideological benefits to every class of feudal society. Only by embracing and supporting the sociological interests of the tenth and eleventh century world, did Cluny become the capital of a vast empire; only thus could the Cluniac program hope for success.

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[114] *Ibid*. Cf. also *ibid*., 28f., R. Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, 41; G. Tellenbach, *op. cit*., 97. See also PL 132, 1055ff., 1068f., 1074f., 1082 and PL 141, 1137.

[115] PL 145, 865-867; PL 148, 661-666; PL 151, 291 and 410; PL 163; 51. Cf. also RHF XIV, 716; JL 5372; M. Marrier, *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, 514; A. Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier*, 458-460 and L. Smith, *op. cit*., 94.

[116] *L'ordre monastique*, 216.

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[117] K. Hallinger, Gorze-Kluny, I, 555; G. Tellenbach, op. cit., 214; LTK II, 1239; and P. Volk, "Georg Schreiber," loc. cit., 422.

[118] Histoire de l'Ordre de saint Benoît, I, 146.

[119] Le monachisme clunisien, I, 65. Cf. Monastic Studies, 3 (1965), 122 n. 3.

> Contemplative life in the inner organism of the coenobium served not for an isolation from the world, but for a better penetration of it! Only the well-regulated discipline of the cloister inmates made the abbots' ingerence in the political power play of the time possible and permitted the championing of the social needs of society.[121]

In H. Mager's analysis of Cluniac documents, however, the Cluniac priory system did not constitute a frontal attack on feudalism, even though the monks fought for freedom, as can be seen already from the immunity passage. G. Tellenbach similarly feels that Cluny was satisfied to carry out its reform within the existing order of state-church law (Staatskirchenrecht), with no thought of transforming it. Thus, while it rejected feudalism in the monastic field, Cluny did not hesitate to seek an accomodation with the then prevalent feudal world in extra-monastic spheres. It left the lords of proprietary churches and the advocates (advocati) in their places--though Cluny itself never had such advocates--accepted conditions as they were, and was satisfied with the acceptance of donations. In this view, the immunity passage cannot be extended in the sense of involving also a struggle against feudalism; far from opposing the traditional order prevailing between the Church and the contemporary world, Cluny retained a conservative stand by recognizing the legitimacy of existing conditions. In fact, Cluny could not be interested in a radical abolition of the _Eigenkirche_ system, but had to defend it. The more possessions it acquired, the greater was the need for an accomodation between the monastery and proprietary church law (_Eigenkirchenrecht_). Hence Cluny's policy of seeking papal confirmation of its possessions. And, last but not least, the emergence of the congregation of Cluny is itself a product of the _Eigenkirchenrecht_, for Cluny had its own "proprietary churches" which it kept in a state of complete dependence. It could not champion anti-feudal programs, for how else could it have William of Aquitaine for its founder whose obvious aim was to secure a point of departure based, realistically, on existing historico-political conditions?[122]

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[120] Monastic Studies, 3(1965), 122 n. 3.

[121] Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen, 28.

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[122] G. Tellenbach, _op. cit._, 214-216. Cf. _ibid._, 118 and 211. On p. 119 a case is cited where the monks of St. Martin de Tulle (Corrèze), together with their abbot, asked for a _pastor laicus_ or _defensor_, in spite of bad experiences made in the past. "Cernentes autem monachi privatos se esse

The legacy of Cluny is therefore socio-religious rather than political or cultural. But, even here, it must be stressed that the great Burgundian abbey did not enter the state of world history with a definite program of reform at hand or with specific demands it sought to enforce. It did not advocate the intensification of a given monastic principle or formulate a definite ascetical or ecclesiastical policy, but, one might say, its very existence was an antidote to the spirit of secularization in monastery and Church.[123]

> The prevailing simony, the clerical concubinage, the rough and war-like ways of bishops and abbots were all corruptions standing in the way of any monastic or ecclesiastical improvement...Cluny opposed them, in moderation, however, and with considerable aquiescence in the apparently necessary conditions of the time (H. O. Taylor).[124]

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pastore laico qui honorem illorum defensaret, consilio inito complacuit omnibus ut filium notum Ademari supradicti vicecomitis (the founder of Tulle), nomine Donarellum, exciperent ut eos protegeret; quod et fecerunt. Cumque quadam die eum honorifice Mulcedonum duxissent ut ibi staret, in ipsa quidem nocte aufugit ab eis velut stultus, quamvis esset. Qui cum mane illucescente eum perquirerent, non invenerunt, quia reversus ad suum stultum mercimonium fuerat. Tunc exosum eum omnes habentes dimiserunt in suam stultitiam perdurantem. Et post eum expetierunt sibi Bernardum vice-comitem Torenae ad sui defensionem et tradiderunt ei castrum suum Mulcedonum cum caslania...Et ipsam cessionem non fecerunt stabilem, sed tantum in vita sua, post mortem quoque ejus Sancto Martino remaneret." See also J. Evans, op. cit., 15.

[123] H. Leclercqu, L'ordre benedictine, 43. Cf. E. Sackur, op. cit., II, 449.

[124] Henry O. Taylor, The Medieval Mind. A History of the Development of Thought and Emotion in the Middle Ages, 2 vols., 4th ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1951), II, 375f.

Its great and unfanatical spirit implanted ideals of discipline in a harsh and war-like age, brought into the open the question of moral reform, hitting directly at simoniac and nicolaitic practices within the regular church. Moreover, the abbots of Cluny, frequent travellers in western and southern Europe, to attend synods, among other things, had first-rate opportunities to get acquainted with popular sentiments. In this connection, it is not out of place to think that, to counter neo-Manichaean inroads, they purposely began to draw from the heritage of the Eastern Church, as the introduction of the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the spread of Marian devotions and the promotion of Eucharistic services sufficiently testify. By exchanging the earthly love of women for the supernatural love of Mary and by greatly elaborating the liturgy, Cluny was able to counteract the spiritualistic anti-sacral and anti-feudal currents prevalent in contemporary heresies. The liturgical life of Cluny had thus its influence on the world outside: It enabled the monks to reach and influence the lower strata of the population, to become the confidants of the poorer classes who always tended to see in them the representatives of a genuine Christianity.[125]

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[125] A. Fliche, La réforme grégorienne, I, 60. See also G. Schreiber, Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 140 and

A study of the first five abbots' biographies shows little connection between Cluny and the reform named after Pope Gregory VII. Cluny's main concern was not the secular Church; its influence--though strong, as never before--was therefore an indirect one. "An international power, by looking beyond the bishop to the Pope as head, she had enormously strengthened the prestige and power of Rome" (L. Smith).[126] Still, Cluny's role in the Gregorian reform must not be exaggerated, even if, in a Roman synod of 1077, Gregory VII acknowledged that

> among all the abbeys beyond the Alps there shines first and foremost that of Cluny, that is under the protection of the Holy See. Under its saintly abbots it has reached so high a stage of honor and religion that, because of the zeal wherewith God is there served, without doubt it surpasses all other monasteries, even the most ancient.[127]

For, it is obvious that the reform movements of the late eleventh century--all stressing strict poverty--were not directly influenced by Cluny. Some historians even see in the

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E. Werner, Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen, 82-85. According to Werner, the liturgical usages stressed by Cluny, with their eastern ingredients, are a reaction to the heresy of the eleventh century and can be understood only from a sociological point of view. Ibid., 85. On Cluny's hospitality, see PL 149, 753: "Illi qui pauperes recensuerunt testati sunt septemdecim millia fuisse, quibus et in Christi nomine ducenti quinquaginta baccones divisi sunt." See also R. Graham, English Ecclesiastical Studies, 36 and 39.

[126] Op. cit., xxvi. Cf. G. Schreiber, Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 140.

[127] Translated by J. Evans. Op. cit., 34.

reform movements in southern France a reaction against the great Burgundian metropolis with its Carolingian traditions, at least as far as monastic matters are concerned.[128] This would confirm A. Fliche's conclusion that Cluny did not play the role that has been assigned to it for quite some time.[129] All one can say is, then, that Cluny appreciated the ideals of Gregory VII, but, retaining an attitude of non-political reserve, left the struggle to the Curia, and that its organization served as a model for the popes of the period. Moreover, Cluny always sought to retain its independence, also from the papacy, as can be seen from its clash with Gregory VII over Spanish matters and the contacts it maintained with the emperor Henry IV during the height of the investiture struggle.[130]

At the end of the eleventh century Cluny passed for the most regulated monastery in France and, from the material point of view, the abbey was stronger than ever.[131] Were there signs of a let-up? When Peter Damian, a man of almost superhuman asceticism and a convinced champion of eremitic life, visited Cluny in 1063, he could not hide his admiration for what he saw. Even though the monks did not lead a solitary life, he had reasons to praise their good spirit, the strict observance of silence, the cheap clothing and bedding, the absence of discrimination in food and clothing, the never ending rounds of church services, the care of the sick, the support of the poor and non-selective hospitality.[132] Then, too,

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[128] Charles Dereine, "Vie commune, règle de saint Augustin et les chanoines réguliers aux XIe siècle," Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, 41(1946), 389 n. 6.

[129] La réforme grégorienne, I, 41f.

[130] G. Tellenbach, op. cit., 217 and G. Schreiber, Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 135. According to Schreiber the view that identifies the Gregorian Reform with the reform of Cluny is in need of an "unavoidable revision." See also A. Fliche, La réforme grégorienne, I, 60.

> the papacy which carried out the reform of the Church, would not have accorded Cluny such a blind confidence, if the wealth of the abbey would by then have produced the bad fruits of which it will perish in later times. It is, once more, from Cluny that the Pope addresses the abbeys which no longer observe the rigors of monastic life (A. Fliche).

Cluny's influence was, in fact, felt in all countries of western Europe. From the time of Leo IX the Cluniacs had a hand in almost every papal action, and Hugh the Great maintained contacts with more European bishops than any of the non-Cluniac French monasteries. O. Ducourneau even speaks of a "universal influence."[133]

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[131] Cf. Ursmer Berlière, "Les origines de l'ordre de Citeaux et l'ordre benédictine aux XIIe siècle," Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, 2(1901), 266 and A. Fliche, Le règne de Philippe Ier, 465.

[132] "Etsi solitudinis habitationem non incolunt," there is (a) "cor unum et anima una," "taciturnitas," "vestium vilitas," "ciborum vestium aequalitas." PL 145, 873f. Peter Damian greatly admired the prayer life of Cluny which was so akin to that of the solitaries of Cassian: In line with the eremitic tradition, field labor had given way to the recitation of psalms, constant prayer and the struggle against passions. Cf. A. Louf, op. cit., 195. In a way Cluny may be said to have influenced Romuald and Peter Damian. Ibid. See also PL 144, 374-378 and 873f. and R. Graham, English Ecclesiastical Studies, 42.

Cluny's contribution to monastic development and its claim to greatness lies in the restoration or, perhaps, updating of the Benedictine Rule to contemporary needs and the resulting codification of monastic discipline by Bernard and Udalric. This consuetudo monastica was the fundament on which the reform movement of the eleventh century rested. The raison d'ètre of this updating and adaptation--some call it mitigation--is in line with the legitimate tradition of interpreting points of the Rule--which itself made allowances to differences in time, place, and climate--and, in the words of Pope Gelasius II, implied no weakening of the monastic vows.[134] Also, while Cluny went considerably beyond the ideal of Benedict of Aniane--it further emphasized the liturgy, sharply reduced manual labor and made notable concessions in the question of food and clothing--"it cannot be said that the Cluniac observance was a mitigated one, representing a broader and more humane tendency in the practice of the Rule" (P. Salmon).[135] For the liturgy, the various offices, and the two or three daily community Masses required the monks' active participation during the greater part of the day; silence was rigorously observed; and common life, with its demand for unreserved obedience, its constant submission to minute customs and regulations and its severe penalties for transgressions and violations, was a constant and permanent reality.[136] One may also add that, from the middle of September until Easter, fasting was a frequent practice and that abstinence from flesh meat remained absolutely enforced. All this would not have been possible without the uniform leadership and the personal greatness of the first abbots of Cluny and without the close ties that linked Cluny to Rome as a papal *Eigenkloster* and the inherent legal independence and papal support. Then there was the hierarchical organization of Cluny which effectively linked a multitude of dependent houses to the mother abbey. This was Cluny's own creation and proved most helpful in its role as peace-maker in an age of endless feudal skirmishes and in its care for the poor and pilgrims. The result was a lasting imprint on Christian piety in the West, mediation between East and West and, politically, a truly universal--European--attitude.[137]

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[133] Op. cit., 17. See also PL 149, 736-740 (on travel), E. Tomek, op. cit., 259, G. Tellenbach, op. cit., 223ff., and H. Workman, op. cit., 228.

[134] "Sicut in beati quoque Benedicti regula quaedam de hujusmodi observantiis scripta sunt quae nostris temporibus per monasteria longe aliter fiunt, neque tamen enim propter hoc monachorum professio creditur infirmari." PL 163, 496. Cf. U. Berlière, "Les origines de l'ordre de Cîteaux," loc. cit., 273; E. Tomek, op. cit., 285 and ibid., 180; G. Schreiber, Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 142; LTK II, 1239, and Louis Bouyer, The Cistercian Heritage, trans. Elizabeth Livingstone (Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1958), 7.

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[135] Cf. *Monastic Studies*, 3(1965), 125. See also U. Berlière, "Les origines de l'ordre de Citeaux," *loc. cit.*, 275f.' O. Ducourneau, *op. cit.*, 17ff. and J. Mahn, *op. cit.*, 23ff.

[136] PL 149, 705, 708f. 734. Cf. E. Tomek, *op. cit.*, 266-270; J. Evans, *op. cit.*, 86f.; G. de Valous, *Le monachisme clunisien*, 219-225; O. Ducourneau, *op. cit.*, 31.

While Cluny attained such heights, it undeniably began to nurture the seeds of its own decline; and for a number of reasons. First of all, the rule of Cluny breathed more the spirit of 817 than the authentic thought of St. Benedict. Its reform was consequently inspired not by the old Rule, but by its broad-mindedness which allowed a "liberal" interpretation, with additions and elaborations suggested by experience.[138] In this Cluny went so far that it did not observe important provisions at all. It had practically no manual labor, mitigated the rules on fasting, demanded little reading, discontinued the novitiate as a year of formation, and applied insufficient selection, to mention only a few examples. The disappearance of manual labor and the overemphasis of liturgical prayer in the absence of other occupations could not but upset the traditional balance of prayer, work and spiritual reading (study) on which Benedictine monastic life rested. The Cluniac practice whereby an abbot appointed his successor, even if it was done in the interest of continuity and for the purpose of eliminating discord, meant a further modification of the Rule. Then there were mitigations: While the Rule foresaw only infrequent recreations, Cluny had them twice a day (Sundays and feast days excepted), after chapter and after Sext (winter) or None (summer). Greater allowances were also made in clothing, food and drink so that a comparison of Bernard and Udalric clearly reveals that Cluny had lost its _intimité familiale_ and that the monastic habit was no longer similar to what the poor of the country wore. And the influx of donations made it, understandably, difficult to maintain regular discipline in the monastery, while, on the other hand, it brought responsibilities in the world in its train which made the execution of an effective reform program rather difficult.[139]

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[137] B. Albers, Untersuchungen, 1f.; Alice M. Cooke, "A Study in Twelfth Century Religious Revival and Reform," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 9(1925), 144; U. Berlière, "L'étude des réformes monastiques," loc. cit., 149; G. Schreiber, Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 81; E. Werner, Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen, 27; LTK II, 1239f.

[138] G. Schreiber, Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 142f. See also S. Hilpisch, Benedictinism, 49.

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[139] PL, 149, 666. 675-685. 726. 731-733. 741. 745. 759. 763. Cf. PL 137, 777-780 and PL 182, 914f. See also E. Sackur,

Cluny saw the monk's vocation in the solemn execution of liturgical prayer. But since the divine office did not require every hour of the monk's day and since the discontinuation of field labor left additional "free" hours that had to be occupied, Cluny proceeded to an endless multiplication of prayers and offices, with involved and complicated ceremonies, elaborate chanting and a great amount of pageantry. All this--in G. De Valous' estimation, the divine office alone required from four to eight hours of the monk's day--left the Cluniac "pretty well breathless" at the end of the day so that he often preferred signs to the spoken word.[140]

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op. cit., II, 26; E. Tomek, op. cit., 47, 235, 281, 287; U. Berlière, L'ordre monastique, 195f.; S. Hilpisch, Benedictinism, 49; O. Ducourneau, op. cit., 30f.; G. Schreiber, Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 143; Roger Grand, L'agriculture au moyen age de la fin de l'empire romain au XVI e siècle (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1950), 148; H. DeWarren, "Le monachisme à l'apparition de saint Bernard," loc. cit., 50f.; H. Philippeau, "Pour l'histoire de la coutume de Cluny," loc. cit., 148f.; and LTK II, 1240.

[140] Le monachisme clunisien, I, 322. Ibid., 328 de Valous writes, "The divine office which in the mind of St. Benedict is the most important factor within the framework of monastic life, became with Benedict of Aniane and Cluny so-to-speak the only occupation of the monk." Cf. J. Mahn, op. cit., 22f. According to U. Berlière, "Odo and his successors attached an extreme importance to liturgical prayer; they heightened its celebration by a great variety of ceremonies; they increased its splendor by the perfect execution of the chant, the splendor of vestments and beauty of edifices. The spirit of Cluny was really liturgical prayer." L'ordre monastique, 195. Cf. A. Cooke, "A Study in Twelfth Century Religious Revival," loc. cit., 144; E. Bishop, op. cit., 228; S. Hilpisch, Benedictinism, 49; R. Graham,

One may ask here whether the Cluniac solution represented a growth of the liturgy. To S. Hilpisch it was a mere accumulation of prayers and devotions,[141] while C. Butler judged it "a transformation of the life designed by St. Benedict."[142] According to U. Berlière,""a tradition was created that the celebration of the office was not just the most important factor...of monastic life as intended by St. Benedict, but practically the only occupation of the monks...This upset the equilibrium so wisely established by the Holy Legislator and led the order to a catastrophe."[143]

In no small degree the abandonment of manual labor was responsible for this. A continuation of Anianine practices, it reached full dimensions at Cluny where, in line with the contemporary trend, most monks had become priests to whom servile work and household duties seemed nothing short of degrading. Since, in the absence of intellectual and related interests, study, reading, scholarship or public teaching could not be introduced as a substitute, the only

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English Ecclesiastical Studies, 42; H. Leclercqu, L'ordre bénédictine, 43; R. Grand, L'agriculture au moyen age, 148; EC III, 1887. See also PL 149, 668. 686-688. 703-705 and PL 145, 873f.

[141] "Chorgebet und Frömmigkeit," loc. cit., 268.

[142] Benedictine Monachism, 359.

[143] L'ordre monastique, 115.

remaining alternative was the already mentioned extension of prayer life.[144] To some historians it is no backward step to adopt a solution of this kind if physical work is considered degrading and there is a lack of sufficient talent for intellectual work, but really the expression of a spirituality which is more affective than speculative.[145] Others see dangers in such a development. "The additions and supplements...made life at Cluny, if one observed it faithfully, not only laborious, but extremely tiresome" (A. Presse).[146] The result was fatigue, tepidity, boredom, formalism and routine (U. Berlière).[147]

The monarchical--and, one should say, un-Benedictine--system of grouping houses enhanced Cluny's greatness and effectiveness, but, on the other hand, had also its liabilities. In the words of Butler, "Such a system cut at the root of the old family ideal and resulted in a kind of feudal hierarchy consisting of one great central monastery and a number of dependencies spread over many lands."[148] Some of these numbered no more than four monks, and their priors were but shadows of the abbot of Cluny, with no claim to their confreres' loyalty.[149] Given this excessive governmental rigidity and the absence of intermediate organs, not even the greater monasteries had a meaningful conventual life or, one may say, any inherent principle of life. The independence of individual monasteries was destroyed, in order to keep them bonded together under one man who escaped all control and was frequently away from the nerve center. If this supreme authority fell into incapable or unworthy hands--as it was bound to happen, sooner or later--the whole structure had to feel the consequences. And there was no remedy for such an emergency. In virtue of his greatness, the abbot of Cluny--whose legislative, juridical and administrative powers reached a new height by the time of Hugh--stood above the discipline of the Consuetudines, strong enough to appoint his own successor and to act like, in later centuries, a Jesuit general.[150] According to his biographer, wherever

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[144] PL 149, 675-685. See also A. Cooke, "A Study in Twelfth Century Religious Revival," loc. cit., 144; U. Berlière, L'ordre monastique, 196; and J. Mahn, L'ordre cistercien, 23.

[145] J. Mahn, L'ordre cistercien, 23.

[146] Alexis Presse, La réforme de Cîteaux (Dijon: Imprimérie Bernigaud et Privat, 1932), 5.

[147] L'ordre monastique, 286. Cf. H. Leclercqu , op. cit., 43f.

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[148] Benedictine Monachism, 238. Cf. CE 74; EC III, 1888; A. Cooke, "A Study in Twelfth Century Religious Revival," loc. cit., 143f.; H. DeWarren, "Le monachisme à l'apparition de saint Bernard," loc. cit., 57.

[149] G. Schreiber, Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 87-92.

[150] U. Berlière, "Les origines de l'ordre de Cîteaux," loc. cit., 457. Cf. also 453. Ibid., 266 the author states,

Odilo went, he was followed by such a multitude of monks that, instead of a leader and a prince, one would see an archangel of monks in him.[151] Quite differently wrote Adalbero of Laon about "king Odeylo, of Cluny," the commander of legions of monks, whose every order--even the most outlandish--must be quickly obeyed, in *Carmen ad Rotbertum regem*.[152] Equally critical was, at the turn of the century, St. Bernard of Tiro who strongly objected to the idea of a Cluniac archabbot. Finding no such institution in Sacred Scripture or in St. Benedict's Rule, he branded it a form of proud tyranny, even, if the account is true, in the presence of Pope Paschal II. The incident may not be wholly authentic, still it indicates the existence of pronounced anti-Cluniac feelings.[153] These seemed to have reached a high point with Adalbero's *Carmen*. In it, the bishop of Laon sharply attacked the Cluniac practice of incorporating monasteries with undue haste, ridiculed

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one might ask "whether the Cluniac system was a legitimate application, an interpretation justified by the mind of St. Benedict." See also E. Tomek, *op. cit.*, 287: J. Evans. *op. cit.*, 25 and 35; G. Schreiber, *Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters*, 91f.; H. DeWarren, "Le monachisme à l'apparition de saint Bernard," *loc. cit.*, 48; and E. Werner, *Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen*, 12.

[151] "Quocunque exibat, quocunque praecedebat, tanta sequebatur eum frequentia fratrum, ut iam non ducem ac principem, sed revera putares eum esse archangelum monachorum." PL 142, 9. Cf. E. Sackur, *op. cit.*, II, 98.

[152] See below, n. 154.

[153] "Cluniacensis abbas, juxta Isaiae vaticinium, ad uxorem meam hinnire non desinit et mihi qualicunque abbati

Cluny's claim of a lex antiquissima when, in reality, it cared more for novelties, and condemned--in a fit of Gallicanism--the monastery's ultramontanism--to use an appropriate 19th-century expression. In addition he criticized the monks' worldliness, their provocative behavior and spirit of innovation and expressed his fears that their promotion to various offices and social classes would bring ruin to the Church. This is hardly surprising, for if a quiet monk were sent to Cluny, he would return in a few days in a great cap of bear's fur, a long robe drawn up to his knees and split in front, an embroidered baldric with a bow and arrows, a hammer and tongs, a sword, flint, steel and tinder, with spurred shoes and curled-up toes. To remedy the situation the author saw only one way out: to call on king Robert to put an end to the monks' influence.[154]

Cluny championed an ideal which differed from that

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tamen veluti archiabbas superba tyrannide dominari appetit; et quod nostra ecclesia ut ancilla sibi famuletur, sua regnet et imperet, efficere satagit...Quod genus ambitionis novum et inauditum...hoc sane detestabile malum...In litteris etenim collectis archiepiscopos, archipresbyteros, archidiaconos legimus; archiabbatem vero nomine, in illis necdum invenimus. S. Benedicti Regula (cujus ego professor, qui impetor, et ille est qui me impetit) ut abbas solummodo jus disponendi omnia in suo monasterio habeat, constituit; de archiabbate vero penitus tacuit." PL 172, 1401f. See also D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, 201.

[154] PL 141, 771-786. Cf. E. Sackur, op. cit., II, 94-100; J. Evans, op. cit., 127; M. Mourre, op. cit., 317 n. 4. A French translation, procured by E. Pognon, can be found in L'An mille (Paris: Gallimard, 1947), 221ff.

of St. Benedict and could not, therefore, be lasting. Cluniac preponderance lasted for some two centuries; then the crisis came. It was brought on by difficulties of an economic nature and, even more, by an exaggerated spirituality, a relaxation of monastic discipline and an increasing involvement in feudal affairs. Monasteries became, more and more, refuges for the feudal nobility where eating, drinking and a work-free existence soon took precedence over the ideals of monastic asceticism. Bound too much to the feudal world, Cluny was unable to satisfy the great number of generous souls at the end of the eleventh century who all yearned for a life of seclusion, penance and mortification. Nor was it able to attract, much less to absorb, the great *pauperes Christi* movement gaining momentum in the period.[155] But, as G. Schreiber concluded, Cluny had fulfilled its mission.

> The new foundations of Cîteaux and Prémontré could only come about after Cluny had completed its work on the *Eigenkirche*. The whole atmosphere into which these new foundations were put--the *Exordium Parvum* rejects cities--called, *a priori*, for that minimal measure of delaicization and purification (*Verkirchlichung*) which Cluny had brought for the lower Church. Only now was the road free for these new foundations in France. With

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[155] LTK II, 1240. See also E. Tomek, *op. cit.*, 287; R. Grand, *L'agriculture au moyen age*, 148; H. De Warren, "Le monachisme à l'apparition de saint Bernard," *loc. cit.*, 48; E. Werner, *Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen*, 27 and 103f.; Augustin Fliche, *Histoire de l'Eglise dépuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*. Vol. VIII: *La réforme grégorienne et la réconquête chrétienne (1057-1123)* (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1950), 446.

> the exception of inconsequential individual cases, Cîteaux and Prémontré needed no longer to busy themselves with the transfer of lay churches. Cluny and its priories had done their invaluable spadework for Alberic and Stephen Harding.[156]

Cluny really paved the way for Cîteaux.

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[156] Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 136. Cf. E. Werner, Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen, 112.

CHAPTER III

THE CRISIS OF CENOBITISM

Traditional monachism went through a serious crisis in the eleventh century, a crisis which began around 1050 A.D. and lasted, roughly, for one hundred years. Germain Morin called it a "crisis of cenobitism."[1] According to Jean Leclercq it was basically a crisis brought on by material wealth.[2] This is undoubtedly true, but not exclusively so, for there were other factors contributing to the difficulties. It would therefore be better to say that the crux of the problem was the insufficiency of the Benedictine and Cluniac formula to satisfy generous souls already on the lookout for new solutions. One of the latter was Cîteaux; a consideration of the "crisis" will therefore furnish both background and perspective for the events of 1098, in line with the objectives of this investigation.

In the long history of monasticism, religious houses made their appearance both in the vicinity of cities (urban monachism) and in the countryside, far from human settlements (eremitic monachism). Both forms had their advantages and their legitimation in tradition. In the eleventh century, however, the trend moved toward setting up monasteries in the immediate vicinity of cities or within the periphery of fortified places. One reason for this development was undoubtedly the need of shelter and security in the face of intermittent Norse and Hungarian raids and, subsequently, in view of the hazards brought on by constant feudal skirmishes. In some instances, monks were put in charge of cathedral churches. Then, too, abbeys themselves began to attract people, thus becoming population centers. One has only to think of the markets held on monastic grounds, of the flow of donations and the monks' eagerness to round out their possessions through the acquisition of surrounding lands. This brought tenants and rentiers and soon artisans, merchants and other small holders in the immediate vicinity of monasteries, a situation welcomed by both sides. It enabled the monks--whether good or not--to give up field labor and, to a lesser extent, household work, while the new population could expect help from the monks in times of distress and, being under the abbot's jurisdiction, enjoy legal protection from the whims of lay lords. This, of course, left its imprint on monastic life;

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[1] Germain Morin, "Rainaud l'Ermite et Ives de Chartres; un épisode de la crise du cenobitisme au XIe-XIIe siècle," Revue Bénédictine, 40(1928), 99-115.

[2] Jean Leclercq, "La crise du monachisme aux XIe et XIIe siècles," Bolletino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano, 70(1959), 24.

the result was a new mentality, and a different outlook on the liturgy and manual labor, as contemporary critics hastened to point out.[3]

One of these critics was Raynald of the Melinais. A canon regular, he became an itinerant preacher and eventually retired into the solitude of Craon where he died in 1103.[4] His experiences prompted him to compose a satire on claustral life as observed in urban surroundings. Since it is hardly possible to keep the evangelical counsels and follow the example of the apostles in such an atmosphere, Raynald strongly condemned the idea of having monasteries in, or too close to cities where one can hear the noisy dancing and chanting of women from the monks' dormitory. This will arouse human curiosity, and the consequence will be that monks will seek the opportunity to speak with women.[5]

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[3] J. Leclerq, "La crise du monachisme," loc. cit., 19f. See also E. Sackur, op. cit., II, 215, 416f., 431 and 433f.; H. DeWarren, "Le monachisme à l'apparition de saint Bernard, loc. cit., 51 and E. Werner, Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen, 26. According to E. Sackur there was regular international commerce in the abbeys of William of Dijon where one could find Frenchmen, Englishmen, Germans and even Italians and Greeks; op. cit., II, 212.

[4] G. Morin, "Rainaud l'Ermite," loc. cit., 113f.

[5] "Quid dicemus de his, qui in urbibus commorantes saepius audiunt ab ipso dormitorio ipsas mulierum cantilenas, et earum strepitus, et choreas, et inquirunt principum et vulgi rumores, et aliquando vident, et locuntur cum mulieribus, et habitant inter fumantes coquinas?" G. Morin, "Rainaud

> The world-hostile quiet--writes Paul Giseke on the subject--has disappeared long ago. This, because the monks lived in the center of a busy world: near highways and populous settlements. And there was no traveller on the road who did not pay a visit to hospitable monasteries. Except at noon, gate and hostel were open all day without any discrimination and a colorful medley of all kinds of humans--priests and knights, peasants and vassels, entertainers and, especially, all sorts of hirelings and servants--came in and out, either because of the attention received in the hostel, or drawn by curiosity or else because of a business, so that the monastery gave the impression of having been transformed into an open street. Nor were women excluded from the hospitality of the guest-house: the wives of manorial officials, in particular, had the right to visit there.[6]

The popular view of the monastery was that of a constantly occupied community in an elaborate and well-defined sequence of church services. People did not look for contemplative ascetics within the confines of impressive and much-decorated monastic buildings. They took note of the changes made in the monks' food, clothing and discipline. These changes, however, while solving some problems, created a host of new difficulties.

It has already been described how Cluny enriched the monk's wardrobe. It also provided more comfortable beds

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l'Ermite," *loc. cit.*, 109. Cf. also *ibid.*, 105. Raynald's conclusion is "nosti quia evangelicis apostolicisque sanctionibus obedire necessarium est; hoc autem vix aut numquam in coenobiis urbe vel oppido constitutis fieri potest." *Ibid.*, 103.

[6] Paul Giseke, "Ueber den Gegensatz der Cluniazenser und Cistercienser," *Jahrbuch des Pädagogiums zum Kloster Unser Lieben Frauen in Magdeburg*, 50(1886), 17.

beds than the Rule and permitted that the monks sleep in shirt and pelisse, whereas St. Benedict expressly wished that the monks sleep fully dressed. The Rule, too, foresaw no morning sleep; Cluny however advanced Lauds and deferred Prime so that the monks could return to bed after Lauds. In the refectory, Cluny abstained from blessing the dishes not granted by the Rule, in the belief that in this case they would not count as additional dishes. In the subject of drinks, the Rule of St. Benedict was interpreted in such a way that each monk received his full measure of wine during each meal, even if during Lent one meal was omitted. After the office of None the monks went to the refectory for a drink, whether they were thirsty or not, and before the evening reading (collatio) there was another bibitio. These practices had their effect on fasting so that only fragments of the old Benedictine observances remained. The Rule also prescribed that the monks should keep silence at all times and talk only when answering questions. Cluny developed sign language into an art and, moreover, permitted talking in the cloister after chapter. But a monk could only talk after he took a book in his hand and sat down; this, in order to keep at least the letter of the Rule, ordering that all should sit while one of them reads what edifies the audience. The life of the monk was now spent in prayer and reading. The former--with all the additions to the Benedictine pensum and the highly elaborated ceremonial--occupied most of the monk's time. Priests in church wore costly vestments, and on great feasts the entire community, monks and brothers, went to the services in alb and maniple. The effect of singing was heightened by the use of the falsetto; to cultivate it, the monks drank juice obtained from sweet wood. Also, while the Rule wished that a novice take his vows after completing a full year's noviciate, the Cluniacs allowed the novice to do so at any given time within the year of probation, oftentimes after only a month or even a single day, in order to make sure he would not relapse into his former ways. Further Cluniac detours from the Rule were the readmission of fugitive monks; the discontinuation of the solemn welcoming of guests by the abbot, who also stayed in the refectory instead of eating with the guests; the shortening of the siesta during the summer fast days, in order to have None, and thus the community meal, sooner; and the like.[7]

Monastic life was in a far worse predicament in other French monasteries. Many of them were simply victims of isolation and individualization, at an age when Christian society was getting organized, when feudal power was made to yield before the rising influence of the crown, and new congregations of canons, combining the vocation of the monk and the secular priest, became the centers of influence and initiative. The multiplication and multiplicity of priories and cells could only hasten the break-up of conventual life. It was the abbots' duty to visit them regularly, but, given the situation, this meant that they had to spend much of their time away from home, to the detriment of their own monastery. The system also afforded abbots with the welcome opportunity to send troublesome and uncomfortable monks to distant dependencies. Here, in an age of feudal warfare, the temptation was quickly at hand to set up a life of comfort, an existence of limited objectives, at the obvious expense of the religious spirit. And the system was so ingrained that not even the leading reformers of the time, Robert of Chaise-Dieu, Albert of Marmoutier, Gerard of Sauve-Majeur and Robert of Molesme--to mention only the outstanding--felt strong enough to make changes, and bishops seemed to acquiesce in the situation.[8]

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[7] Ibid., 3-14.

Then there were monasteries which had a long local tradition--a case in point would be Lérins--where Benedictinism was but one element of time-honored customs and traditions. Other monasteries had but one raison d'ètre, the preservation of their material and institutional status quo. In this they may have succeeded, but not infrequently at the expense of losing contacts with the new intellectual and religious currents in contemporary society. Given these aims and in the absence of adequate activities, these monasteries were literally forced to limit the number of their inmates by admitting only as many recruits as were needed to fill the various offices, and as could be cared for by the monastery's revenues.[9]

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[8] U. Berlière, "Les origines de l'Ordre de Citeaux," loc. cit., 457. See also H. DeWarren, "Le monachisme à l'apparition de saint Bernard," loc. cit., 46 and 49.

On the other end was Cluny, with its highly centralized administration. The system had its drawbacks, as was pointed out, and offered no satisfactory answer to the problem of the period just outlined.[10]

Abbots added their share to the difficulties. For one thing, some of them were simply unworthy of their office. The count of Arles, for instance, found the abbot of Mont-Majeur "a man of flagitious life" who squandered the goods of his monastery.[11] Moreover, simoniac abbots were by no means a rarity--as, for instance, in the abbeys of St. Nicholas, St. Medard and St. Peter--also because king Philip I found simoniac practices attractive enough as a means to increase his revenues. (This in spite of Abbo of Fleury's contention that the king is the *defensor natus* of the monastic order, to protect it from unruly lords and ill-willed bishops.)[12] Ivo of Chartres reprimanded an abbot whose harshness gave way to physical violence against his monks.[13]

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[9] U. Berlière, "Les origines de l'Ordre de Cîteaux," loc. cit., 467. On Lérins see H. DeWarren, "Le monachisme à l'apparition de saint Bernard," loc. cit., 51.

[10] U. Berlière, "Les origines de l'Ordre de Cîteaux," loc. cit., 265.

[11] George G. Coulton, Five Centuries of Religion. Vol. I: St. Bernard, His Predecessors and Successors, 1000-1200 A.D., 2nd ed., (Cambridge: University Press, 1929), 255.

In his *De fuga dignitatum ecclesiasticarum*, St. Peter Damian deplored that abbots who should be dead to the world were constantly involved in its affairs. They have so many cares and worldly concerns that they are always busy with litigations and judicial contestations. This they do in order to extend the boundaries of their monastery, to hoard money and to secure whatever may still be worth attainable. This is why they are among the spectators of feudal tournaments, this is the reason why they are regular visitors in courts, episcopal *curias* and palaces; nor do they hesitate to take their quarrels to the king. After all this, the monastery is but a hospice to them, while their real "home" is the back of the horse, and their garments are the well-kept rider's outfit rather than the priestly vestments which are allowed to be eaten up by moths. So much in the world, they are better informed about matters in court than the courts themselves; and if one wishes to learn about happenings in the world, all one has to do is to ask an abbot. A man like this who is speaking all day and counselling in the night, will find it difficult to take part in all community exercises, to speak of the things of heaven and to command silence to his subjects, when he himself is talking at all times. Equally detestable are the faults of many who became abbots recently. Never perfect monks, once they are abbots they act as born abbots, with a ruler-like bearing, a domineering disposition and a suddenly acquired ability to administer severe looks, display an imperious voice, use a sharp word of reprimand and are quick in judging. They develop ruling into a fine art, by giving arbitrary orders, issuing categorical prohibitions, and by binding and solving, moving and removing. Unable to obey while monks, these new abbots now all of a sudden are convinced that they know everything better than others, with no need for consulting their fellow religious. They act more like officers in a prefecture than dispensers of an ecclesiastical office. Like the former, they shower their favors on their admirers and are vindictive toward those who have their reservations. They claim to be entitled to better food than that which is given to the rest of the community; they need, barely out of the common dormitory, private and single rooms and, though young and vigorous, a staff to hold in their hand. Peter Damian therefore concludes: Woe to all abbots who forget the words of St. Benedict, "Let the abbot who was entrusted with the care of souls be constantly mindful that he will be called upon to render an account." To him it was almost better not to be an abbot at all.[14]

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[12] RHF XIV, 540 and 670; JL 4548 and 4608; Gregory VII, l. IV, *ep*. 20, PL 148, 474; A. Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier*, 474f. and 493; *idem*, *La réforme grégorienne*, I, 58. Cf. E. Sackur, *op. cit*., I, 290. On Abbo of Fleury see *Collectio canonum*, PL 139, 477-479.

[13] "Quidam frater monasterii tui (Vindocinensis) nomine Daniel ad nos veniens graviter conquestus est a tua fraternitate se inordinate et miserabiliter multoties tractatum tam contumeliis verborum quam injuriis verberum , et qualem te in se expertus est, talem te existere in omnes, aut pene omnes pronuntiat." *Ep*. 82, PL 162, 103.

Even saintly abbots gave occasion to criticism. St. Majolus and Hugh the Great, for instance, though great reformers and organizers, were also noted for building imposing edifices, basilicas, cloisters, etc., in proportions few lay lords could afford to imitate.[15] Peter Damian reports in this connection, how a man saw Richard, abbot of Saint-Vannes spend his eternity in hell, setting up scaffoldings, as if fortifying castles. "For in his lifetime the abbot was the victim of this weakness: He spent almost all his energies on vain building projects, squandering, on a large scale, the Church's money on frivolous walls."[16]

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[14] PL 145, 457-460.

[15] J. Leclercq, "La crise du monachisme," loc. cit., 20.

According to John of Fécamp, the abbots "had become richer than bishops...There is no more difference between the great one of this world and the abbots cultivating their friendship."[17] Robert of Torigny similarly deplored the behavior of contemporary abbots. Abandoning the spirit of simplicity, they have become the victims of luxury. And because of their--often necessary--dealings with outsiders in markets, episcopal *curiae* or as pilgrims to the Holy Land, they act more like castellans than abbots or monks. Unable or unwilling to fulfill their obligations in the monastery, they brought about a diminution of the religious spirit in their houses, for riches and power bring nothing but decadence to monks.[18] Hence also Raul Glaber's remark, "Whenever the religious fervor of abbots relaxes, monastic discipline declines at once, and, witnessing their example, the rest of the faithful will similarly transgress the laws of God."[19]

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[16] "Vidit Richardum Verdunensem abbatem, velut excelsas machinas erigentem, et anxium atque sollicitum tanquam munita castrorum propugnacula construentem. Hoc enim morbo laboraverat abbas ille, dum viveret, ut in exstruendis inaniter aedificiis omnes fere diligentiae suae curas expenderet, et plurimas facultates Ecclesiae in frivolis hujusmodi moeniis profligaret." PL 144, 465. Cf. J. Leclercq, "La crise de monachisme," *loc. cit.*, 23

[17] Jean Leclercq and Jean-P. Bonnes, *Un maitre de la vie spirituelle au XIe siècle. Jean de Fécamp* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1946), 201-203. See also Jean Leclercq *et al.*, *La spiritualité du moyen age* (Histoire de la spiritualité chrétienne, 2; Paris: Aubier, 1961), 163.

[18] "Videntes itaque abbates nominatissimorum monasteriorum quae reges Francorum et alii consulares et potentes

Contemporary monks played their part in the crisis as well. Foremost was the wholesale clericalization of monks, the change from the lay to the clerical state. According to C. Butler, this change was the most important of all changes Benedictinism underwent during its history,[20] with its problems of adjustment in the eleventh century and its far-reaching consequences in subsequent times.

Even Benedictine monks were not, at first, priests. Things began to change when Pope Gregory I brought the Benedictines to Rome. The move into the city made agricultural work obviously impossible. Hence the change to a sedentary life with indoor activities, and the administration of cathedrals involving the performance of public prayer, as was done

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in praediis suis aedificaverant, sed propter abundantiam divitiarum nimium dissoluta erant." *De immutatione ordinis monachorum*, 7; PL 202, 1313. Cf. E. Sackur, *op. cit.*, II, 233 and 429; U. Berlière, "Les origines de l'Ordre de Cîteaux," *loc. cit.*, 265f., and J. Leclercq, "La crise du monachisme," *loc. cit.*, 24.

[19] "Quandocunque defuit religiositas pontificum, ac marcessit districtio regularis abbatum, simulque monasterialis disciplinae vigor tepescit, ac per illorum exempla caetera plebs mandatorum Dei praevaricatrix existit." *Radulphi Glabri Historiarum libri quinque*, PL 142, 637.

[20] C. Butler, *Benedictine Monachism*, 294.

by the canons. Then came the employment of the Benedictines in the conversion of Europe, both as bishops and missionaries. All this called for more priests and for longer studies in preparation for the ministry.[21] The trend continued so that "by the year one thousand, it became the established rule that monks should receive ordination"[22] and in 1078 the priesthood was in effect made a conditio sine qua non for a monk's eligibility to the office of abbot.[23] This clericalization was directly responsible for the final abandonment of manual labor by the monks of the period and the appearance, in increasing numbers, of servants in the kitchen and garden of the monastery.[24]

But there were other, less attractive, features in the eleventh-century monk's portrait. Contemporary authors in general deplore the monks' great interest in material things at the expense of the supernatural, the relaxation of discipline, the disappearance of simplicity and the prevalence of gross immorality perpetrated with inmates as well as with outsiders. Already Udalric of Cluny complained (and wrote his Consuetudines for the purpose of combatting the practice) that parents like to rid themselves of unwanted or handicapped and bothersome children by giving them to monasteries.[25] Or, on occasions, bishops compelled their wayward subjects to take the monastic habit.[26] With such inmates--Udalric lists both physical and mental deficiencies--decadence could hardly be staved off. Even at Cluny, the penal code had provisions or sanctions for drunkenness, anger, swearing, quarelling, calumny, pride, envy, covetousness, possession of private property, perjury, absence without leave, malingering, speech with a woman, and the like.[27] In many a monastery one could see monks wandering around aimlessly, dragging themselves with their canes to the infirmary, in a life hardly different from that of pensioners.[28] Peter Damian could not but voice anguish and concern, "Shame has perished, honesty has vanished, religion lies prostrate and all virtues have assembled, as it were, and taken flight in a group. For all seek only their own and scorning the desire of heaven, gape insatiably after earthly things."[29]

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[21] V. Hermans, op. cit., 113f. Cf. PL 170, 537 and PL 189, 142. See also J. Leclercq, The Love of Learning, 233. On the medieval cancept of the monastic priesthood see idem, "On Monastic Priesthood According to the Ancient Medieval Tradition," Studia Monastica, 3(1961), 152-154.

[22] C. Butler, Benedictine Monachism, 294. See also "The Priesthood For Monks," Monastic Studies, 3(1965), 59. Cf. PL 170, 537.

[23] See below, ch. IV, n. 37. Cf. Paul M. Viollet, Droit publique. Histoire des institutions politiques et administratives de la France (Paris: L. Larose et Forcel, 1890-1903), I, 365.

[24] C. Butler, Benedictine Monachism, 294f. See also U. Berlière, "Les origines de l'Ordre de Cîteaux," loc. cit., 449.

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[25] "Aliud sibi nidum providere ubi reponant pullos suos abortivos, velut exhaereditatos....eis scilicet Deo dicatis, quidem tamquam ancillis suis et nutricibus abutentes." PL 149, 637. Cf. E. Hauviller, op. cit., 69 and 80 n. 6, and supra, ch. II, n. 81. See also the account of Guibert of Nogent in PL 156, 850f.: "Nostris monasteria vetustissima numero extenuata temporibus, rerum antiquitus datarum exuberante copia, parvis erant contenta conventibus, in quibus perpauci reperire poterant, qui peccati fastidio saeculum respuissent, sed ab illis potissimum detinebantur ecclesiae, qui in eisdem parentum devotione contraditi, ab ineunte nutriebantur aetate. Qui quantum minorem super suis, quae nulla sibi videbantur egisse, malis metum habebant, tanto intra coenobiorum septa remissiore studio victicabant."

[26] Ch. Dereine, "Vie commune, règle de saint Augustin et les chanoines réguliers aux XIe siècle," loc. cit., 387.

In his Liber Gomorrhanus Peter Damian draws the picture of monastic morals, too sad to be reviewed here.[30] Elsewhere he sees in the contemporary monastic world such evils as sedition, tediousness, self-will and other, what he called, monstrosities. Monks of this type are wont to say, their abbot should be a man of the spirit; in reality, they force him to wrestle all day with secular affairs, in order to keep their life undisturbed, and this they do under the pretext of wishing to preserve the house of God from adversity. These monks are quite satisfied with the disorders caused by the abbot's absence, as long as their own comfort suffers no harm. If the abbot is strict with someone at fault, he is called impious; if he is lenient, they denouce him as ungodly. If he keeps silence, they rationalize it will invite the wolves to attack the flock. If he is fasting, it is branded as an attempt to gain human praise; if he eats heartily, they accuse him of being a father to his own and a stepfather to the stomach of others. If he takes on fine garments, he is said to seek vain glory; if he prefers cheap and worn clothes, they charge him with lessening the reputation of the monastery. If he makes long speeches, the audience feels bored and tempted to fall asleep; if his sermons are short, he is believed to be spiritually empty, having nothing to offer to his subjects. These monks like to have an abbot whose power impresses men of the world, who is able to handle himself well in secular forums and has sufficient stature because of his impressive ancestral line. They feel, these abbatial engagements do not really mean a neglect in the care of souls, for a monk should be able to manage his spiritual life by himself. They prefer to have their abbot from among their own number, for an outsider might possibly restrict regular discipline and introduce new customs. To them a good abbot is he who increases the lands of the monastery, engages in building projects, fills the monastery's treasury, acquires costly ornaments for the church and makes allowances beyond what is necessary. On the other hand, they would feel worried if the abbot should decide to be more after the things of the spirit; this, they fear, would be an injustice to the house of God and the "carelessness" of one person would do harm to the lives of many "victims."[31]

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[27] J. Evans, op. cit., 86.

[28] H. Leclercq, op. cit., 50.

[29] "Periit pudor, honestas evanuit, religio cecidit et velut facto omnium sanctorum virtutum turba procul abscessit. Omnes enim quae sua sunt quaerunt, et contempto coelesti desiderio, terram insatiabiliter concupiscunt." Opusculum XII. Apologeticum de contemptu saeculi. PL 145, 252f.

[30] PL 145, 159-190.

And, to continue the list, already Odo of Cluny is said to have complained that if there is meanness among men, its source is found in monasteries.[32] Ivo of Chartres chided extravagance in the monastic dress.[33] Firmatus described how monks disgruntled with religious life sought subterfuges and escapes; the most common of these was the securing of an office which furnished the excuse to live habitually outside the cloister. Some monks were chaplains of secular lords and lived in quarters often as spacious as the lord's residence.[34] An anonymous poet composed a satire against "sacrilegious monks who were (literally) buying churches."[35] And in his Invectio in militem qui causa paupertatis saeculum relinquens in monachatu divitias adeptus est, Serlo of Bayeux pointed to the root of so many contemporary evils: "Fit monachus miles, sed fit de paupere dives." If a knight joins the monks, his poverty is gone at once.[36]

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[31] PL 145, 457-460.

[32] "Sed, ut pater Odilo saepius plangere solitus est, ita contigit: Heu! pro dolor! inquiens, quoniam naevum invidentiae, licet in caeteris grassetur hominibus, tamen in finibus aliquorum monachaliter vivere professis cubile sibi locavit." PL 142, 689. Cf. E. Sackur, op. cit., II, 93.

[33] C. Spahr, De fontibus constitutivis, 62.

Mabillon lists a number of additional shortcomings. These are simony, wanderlust, familiarity with guests and seculars, vanity, cupidity, love of richess, disregard for silence, lack of faith, laziness, ambition, sloth and lack of simplicity.[37] John of Fécamp felt, that "clergy and laity, priest and monk differ but little in acts and manners."[38] In numerous instances, monks, disregarding canonical legislation, engaged in direct pastoral activities; they attended Church councils, baptized, imposed penances, acted as confessors and public speakers, accepted prebends, became grammarians, rhetoricians and even sophists (philosophers), took oaths and wore arms.[39] According to Raynald the hermit, corruption reached such dimensions that it was difficult to find traces of evangelical perfection. Monks rarely spoke or meditated on the salvation of their soul; their conversation centers more on food, drink, bed and clothes. They are wont to sharpen their tongue against the abbot's greed and like to criticize officials in order to get them removed and appointed in their place. They wander outside, with their tongues if not with their feet, and are more interested in the litigation of kings and dukes than in the recitation of psalms. Their ears are more attuned to secular rumors than to divine inspiration. They fail to do the lawful, but enjoy practicing the forbidden, as when uttering foolish and unbecoming words. In their love for earthly possession they make a mockery of the apostolic ideal of "one heart and one soul" (Acts 4:42), and although Christ would expect that they seek not to regain what has been taken from them, they, in their greed, are not ashamed to take their case before a judge.[40] In consequence, Raynald has nothing but scorn for these "fat and rubicond cenobites, with their protruding bellies and their bony cheeks, follicating in greatly varied clothing, who say, in a manner to be insulting that to live cannonically or in solitude one must not do penance...in imitation of the worthless deception of the Pharisees."[41] Reason suggests that "these persons should be held as impious traitors of Christ. And authority supports reason."[42]

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[34] Germain Morin, "Une traité de S. Guillaume Firmat sur l'amour du cloître et les saintes lectures" (Exhortatio Firmati monachi in amorem claustri et desiderium lectionis divinae), Revue Bénédictine, 31(1914), 249. Cf. J. Leclercq, "La crise du monachisme," loc. cit., 23.

[35] "Sacrilegis monachis emtoribus Ecclesiarum
Composui satyram, carmen per saecula clarum.
Quam quia vir magnus corroborat Hugo Diensis
Noster amicus eam legat Hugo Suessionensis."
Cf. Wilhelm Lühe, Hugo von Die und Lyon, Legat von Gallien (Breslau: F. W. Jungfer, 1898), 131 n. 1.

[36] "Fit monachus miles,
sed fit de paupere dives."
Cf. A. Boutémy, "Deux poèmes inconnus de Serlon de Bayeux et une copie nouvelle de son poème contre les moines de Caen," Le Moyen Age, 51(1938), 254-260 and J. Leclercq, "La crise du monachisme," loc. cit., 22.

[37] Joannes Mabillon, Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti occidentalium monachorum patriarchae (Lucae: L. Venturini, 1739-1740), V, 88, 143, 204, 230, 429, 448, 471, 494, 499 and 577.

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[38] "Clerus et populus, sacerdos et monachus, nil in actibus nil in moribus differunt." Cf. J. Leclercq, Un maitre, 201-203 and idem, "La crise du monachisme," loc. cit., 24.

[39] J. Mabillon, Annales ordinis S. Benedicti, V, 7, 108, 119, 167, 169, 208, 261, 282, 361, 389, 431, 447, 506 and 520.

Specific examples will further illustrate the point made. Abbo of Fleury, a relentless foe of immoral monks and nuns, was murdered by those whom he sought to reform.[43] At St. Benignus in Dijon, before Jarento became abbot, "religion was languishing, the abbey oppressed with debt, the church stripped of its ornaments and the buildings half ruined."[44] Around 1070, Anno, archbishop of Cologne, looked in vain for worthy monks who could settle the monastery of Siegberg.[45] St. Aigulfus, abbot of Lérins, was murdered by his rebellious subjects.[46] Pope Gregory VII was amazed that the monk Robert, a man of unspeakable ambition and a perjurer, could usurp the episcopal see of Chartres.[47] The monks of St. Vincent, Laon, had greater interest in material goods than a desire for heavenly blessings.[48] Discipline was greatly relaxed at the abbey of Clusa.[49] Ivo of Chartres deplored the lawlessness and licence prevalent in the monasteries of Saint-Maur-des-Fossés and Saint Pierre de Lagny.[50] Licence gained the upper hand in other places as well.[51] Maurilius, abbot of Fécamp and subsequently of a monastery in Florence, found poison in his drink.[52] William, bishop of Limoges, a former prior of Saint-Martial, died of poison, at the hand of those who resented his reforms.[53] In 1093 Philip I gave the abbey of Saint-Magloire in Paris to Bernard of Saint-Venant, abbot of Marmoutier, so as to reform its worldly inmates.[54] In the abbey of Saint-Bertin, Thérouanne, each monk had his peculium around the year 1095, gave and received gifts without permission and led a life of dissolution and negligence.[55] In 1097 archbishop Hugh of Lyons intervened to make peace between the abbot of St. Giles and his monks.[56] Gilbert, abbot of Saint-Germain in Auxerre, elected in 1083, was deposed in 1098, for failing to counteract the spirit of laxity in his monastery.[57] Hugh, abbot of Saint-Martin, who had survived an attack on the head, made with an axe, was another victim of poisoning, in 1098.[58] Hugh of Cluny attributed his difficulties with bishop Norigaud of Autun "to the calumny of his own monks which plague is said to have so universally infected all the monasteries of those days that there was scarcely any monk in them who merited his father's blessing."[59]

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[40] "Multi...ignorantes quanta in coenobiis dominetur corruptela, adeo ut in ipsis nulla vel minima evangelicae perfectionis inveniebantur vestigia...raro de salute animarum meditantur aut loquuntur...sermo quippe eorum praecipuus de cibis et de potibus, de pitantiis et generalibus, de stratis et vestimentis, et vestimentorum mutatoribus." G. Morin, "Rainaud l'Ermite," loc. cit., 104-106.

[41] "Haec quidem sunt contra pingues coenobitas et rubicundos, tumentes inflato ventre, et vernantes rosea facie, et veste multiplici follicantes; qui insultantes dicunt, canonice vivere vel solitarie non esse paenitentiam agere, sed inutilem simulationem, pharisaeum imitantes." G. Morin, "Rainaud l'Ermite," loc. cit., 108.

[42] "Ratio enim mihi suadet, non aliter sentiendum esse de talibus, quam de impiis Christum negantibus. Et rationi auctoritas consentit." Ibid., 107.

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[43] G. Coulton, op. cit., I, 257. Cf. Henry C. Lea, History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church, 3rd ed., (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1907), I, 176; A. Fliche, La réforme grégorienne, I, 50. See also Abbo's Collectio canonum, PL 139, 489, and his epp. 5, 8, 9 and 11; ibid. 423, 429, 432 and 436. For Abbo's death, see ibid., 384f.

[44] G. Coulton, op. cit., I, 254.

[45] PL 143, 1532 and MGH, SS XI, 476. Cf. also O. Ducourneau, op. cit., 10.

[46] J. Mabillon, Acta sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti, II, 659f. See also G. Coulton, op. cit., I, 257.

[47] PL148, 468. Cf. A. Fliche, La réforme grégorienne, II, 249 n. 1.

[48] Vita S. Geraldi, AS, Apr. I, 417. Cf. A. Fliche, Le règne de Philippe Ier, 470f.

[49] MGH, SS XII, 199. Cf. A. Fliche, Le règne de Philippe Ier, 470f.

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[50] "Audivi enim a fratre tuo Raimberto monasterii nostri monacho, quod exteriorum tribulationum crebra infestatione vexatux et propter indisciplinatam monasterii tibi commissi conversationem quodam taedio labefactus." Ep. 26. PL 162, 38. See also ep. 65: " [Latiniacensis abbas et monachi ejus] qui nescio qua nova libertate suos excessus tuentur...qui libertate in occasionem carnis abutuntur;" ibid., 82.

[51] Some examples are listed in A. Fliche, La réforme grégorienne, I, 33.

[52] PL 188, 405. See also G. Coulton, op. cit., I, 257.

[53] J. Mabillon, Annales ordinis S. Benedicti, V, 338. Cf. ibid., 348, 373, 385, 399 and 404.

[54] Ibid., 310. See also O. Ducourneau, op. cit., 10.

[55] For the documentation see O. Ducourneau, op. cit., 10.

Immorality was also found in convents, as seen from the example of Saint-Eloi in Paris and the behavior of the nuns of Saint-Fare.[60]

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[56] W. Lühe, op. cit., 92. Cf. JL 5720-5721.

[57] GChr XII, 361. Cf. O. Ducourneau, op. cit., 11.

[58] G. Coulton, op. cit., I, 257.

[59] "Hugonis abbatis discordia cum episcopo Aeduensi. Ceterum totam hanc persecutionem tribuit calumniae monachorum suorum, quae pestis ita generali tabe omnia illius temporis monasteria corrupisse dicitur, ut jam paene nullus sit in eis filius qui patris benedictionem mereatur." J. Mabillon, Annales ordinis S. Benedicti, V, 396. Cf. L. Smith, op. cit., 200 n. 1 and G. Coulton, op. cit., I, 265.

[60] Maurice Prou, Récueil des actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1059-1108) (Paris: Imprimérie Nationale, 1908), 470f. See also Ivo of Chartres, ep. 70: "Audivi turpissimam famam de monasterio Sanctae Farae, quod jam non

It must be stressed, however, that corruption was by no means universal: there were monasteries that had withstood the inroads of decadence. Cluny, Marmoutier, St. Benignus under abbot Jarento (died in 1112), La Chaise Dieu, Bèze, Bec,--to mention only the most prominent-- retained or restored a model observance and were led by outstanding personages.[61] Bernold's chronicle lists similar instances.[62] This will answer C. Butler's remarks "While not for a moment questioning the reality and value of all the numerous revivals and reforms that are so striking a feature of Benedictine history, we must yet bear in mind that it is a natural trick of the panegyrists of reforms and reformers to depict in colors much too black the general state of things when the hero appeared on the scene."[63]

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locus sanctimonialium, sed mulierum daemonialium prostibulum dicendum est, corpora sua ad turpes usus omni generi humani prostituendum." PL 162, 90.

[61] H. Leclercq, op. cit., 49. Cf. O. Ducourneau, op. cit., 11. See also GChr II, 330; PL 150, 719; PL 158, 70-80; PL 162, 848f. and 941.

[62] "His temporibus in regno Teutonicorum communis vita multis in locis floruit, non solum in clericis et monachis religiosissime commanentibus, verum etiam in laicis, se et sua ad eandem communem vitam devotissime offerentibus, qui etsi habitu nec clerici nec monachi viderentur, nequaquam tamen eis dispares in meritis fuisse creduntur." Bernoldi Chronicon, MGH, SS V, 452f.

[63] Benedictine Monachism, 359. Cf. G. Coulton, op. cit., I, 256, n. 3

The abandonment of manual labor brought equally fateful consequences. Once a basic element of the monastic horarium, it had now fallen into disuse, as has already been seen from the example of Cluny. Beside the reasons previously listed, several additional factors account for the development. Given the strong class differentiation of the feudal world, a lord or a free man joining a monastery could easily continue to consider manual labor incompatible with his dignity, in the belief that he must go on living like the noble and the free. Then there was the flow of donations--lands, churches, altars, tithes--which freed the monk from the need to procure his livelihood by means of field labor. Also important is the fact that a majority of the churches recovered from laymen during the Gregorian Reform were given to monasteries, rather than to parishes staffed by the secular clergy. Nor should the influence of eastern monasticism, with its disregard for manual labor, be left unmentioned. In any case, the increase of donations and the presence of fixed revenues (gold denarii) brought considerable wealth to monasteries, freed them from material worries and gave the security needed for a carefree pursuit of labor-free--mostly choral--activities. The place of manual labor was taken over by less physical activities. Hence the celebration of the Mass with greater frequency, the extension of the liturgical services and the multiplication of claustral and administrative offices.[64] Whatever manual labor remained became a mere religious ceremony.[65] The liturgy, on the other hand, tended to grow richer between the ninth and twelfth centuries and reached a point where, in certain instances, it accounted for almost all of the monk's daily activities. From the middle of the tenth century, it became a general custom all over France, Germany, England and Italy to say the fifteen gradual psalms--in some places thirty psalms during the winter season--before Matins and to recite daily the seven pentitential psalms, the litany of all saints, the office of the dead (with Vespers, Matins and Lauds), the office of all saints (Vespers and Lauds) and the so-called psalmi familiares after every canonical hour. The monk became thus a man of public prayer, performing duty-bound services for the well-being of the founders and benefactors of his monastery and for society in general, in return for donations and favors received. And the divine office became, contrarily to St. Benedict, the essential, if not only, occupation of the monk. Each monastery had its fixed revenues and its inmates, many of them now priests, could live from the fruits of the altar, as did the canons. Hence there was little difference between monks on the one hand, and clerics, canons and laymen on the other. Monks were as rich, if not richer, as laymen and by receiving the priesthood and imitating the canons they understandably created a great deal of confusion.[66]

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[64] U. Berlière, "Les origines de l'Ordre de Citeaux," loc. cit., 449 and 446f. See also Alberich Gerards, "Die ersten Cistercienser und die Handarbeit," Cistercienser-Chronik, 59(1952), 1f; R. Grand, op. cit., 148 and J. Leclercq, The Love of Learning, 233.

[65] PL 149, 675-677.

Even if the monks of the eleventh century had not had so many dealings with the contemporary world, they could not have stopped the "world" from entering their monasteries. Princes, as a rule, had few scruples about the sanctity of the monastic retreats. Always on the move, they liked to hold their court in monasteries, little concerned about the preservation of the monastic atmosphere. Moreover, gratitude toward donors and benefactors often obliged monasteries to accept praebendarii and familiares to whom, on account of their age and previous position in the world, all kinds of allowances had to be made. Special considerations like these could only be detrimental to monastic discipline. According to P. Giseke,

> the so-called familiares...were a real pest for the quiet and discipline (of monasteries); their disgraceful life was directly responsible for the decline of some abbeys.

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[66] E. Bishop, op. cit., 224. See also U. Berlière, "Les origines de l'Ordre de Cîteaux," loc. cit., 467f. and Ch. Dereine, "Odon de Tournai," loc. cit., 149 and J. Leclercq, "La crise du monachisme," loc. cit., 25.

> Neither praying nor working, they lived in the monastery which clothed and fed them; they were good for nothing but gossiping, detraction and stealing. Since they were always with the monks and lived with them, they sought to find out their secrets in order to relate them on the outside, and whatever they could carry away they took to their wives and children who lived nearby in the city.[67]

Secular ingerence was heightened by the so-called advocates or defensors of monasteries. The system of having lay protectors takes its justification from a Pauline passage, "No one serving as God's soldier entangles himself in worldly affairs" (2 Timothy 2:4). This gave rise to the office of the lay protector (advocatus, avoué, Vogt) charged with the execution of administrative duties in churches and monasteries and with the representation of the latter before the count. The system was highly effective and beneficial in the times of Charlemagne. By the middle of the ninth century, however, royal power could no longer offer effective protection, whereupon churches and monasteries began to turn to the most powerful lords--counts, viscounts, and other nobles--for the same purpose. Pope Leo IX put the seal of approval on the system.[68] These protectors obviously expected a *quid pro quo*, special favors, for their services. Accordingly the office could be held for life and inherited like other feudal offices. Somewhat later the protection of an episcopal church was entrusted to the *vice-dominus*, while the *advocatus* retained his role in monasteries. The system, wide-spread as it was, had firm roots in Burgundy and brought substantial advantages to the advocates.[69]

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[67] P. Giseke, op. cit., 17f. Cf. also B. Bligny, "Un aspect de la vie religieuse," loc. cit., 285; U. Berlière, "Les origines de l'Ordre de Cîteaux," loc. cit., 468 and M. Prou, op. cit., 474.

[68] "Equum et salutare visum fuit nobis ut praedictam ecclesiam sanctorum Bertarii et Ataleni a Raynardo comite suisque progenitoribus conditam apostolicae aucteritatis

The *advocatia*, then, had both good and bad sides. It set up a close union between reform monasteries and helped the monks in their reforming activities. The Cluniacs could thus improve the morals of the lower clergy and show their concern for the masses. On the other hand, there was nothing but trouble if the advocates--as was frequently the case--placed their selfish interests before those of

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scuto muniremus...Constituimus...congregationem sanctimonialium venerabiliter stabilire et...confirmari eo tenore, ut quicumque de ejus corporis posteritate Fonteniacum castellum justa haereditate possiderit, advocatiam ipsius loci habeat solide." *Ep*. 49, PL 143, 661. See also *diploma* 3: "Advocatiam autem praedicti loci Walterius sibi et uxori suae Adilae retinuit et post eos uni suorum haeredum, qui major natu fuerit. Constituit etiam, ut ulli suorum haeredum hanc advocatiam tenenti cuiquam in beneficium eam dare liceat, sed ipse eam in suo domino (really, *dominio*) possideat. Quae post eum ad filium suum Odelricum deveniat, et post eum quicumque propinquior haeres castrum Daguliacum jure possederit, eandem advocatiam teneat." *Ibid*., 589. See also Adolf Waas, *Vogtei und Bede in der deutschen Kaiserzeit* (Arbeiten zur deutschen Rechts- und Verfassungsgeschichte, Heft 1; Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1919-1923), 34 n. 4.

[69] R. Holtzmann, *op. cit*., 151 and 153. See also P. Viollet, *op. cit*., I, 372-374.

their *protegés*. Then the protectors turned into oppressers, a situation giving rise to endless complaints. In the words of a contemporary, "the earthly *advocatia* was in most cases nothing but oppression." Elsewhere one hears the complaint that "those whom we believe to be appointed defenders of the Church are not only not that, but, rather, the worst oppressors, the most unbearable invaders of its goods."[70] But even in these cases, monks simply could not afford to give up their advocates, for they needed their protection against a multitude of other nobles even more unscrupulous and greedy than their own defensors. Papal protection, as in the case of Cluny, was no practical answer to the problem of harassment, for Rome was far away and had its own difficulties, while the advocate was, at all times, nearby.

The Cluniacs had met with great success in the repression of the so-called proprietary church law (*Eigenkirchenrecht*), but strengthened, in the process, the *advocatia* system. The great lords soon perceived in it the possibilities it offered for the furtherance of their ambition: the establishment of a territorial state. In this sense the advocatia is but a continuation of the Eigenkirchesystem; hence the nobility's eagerness to acquire the office.[71]

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[70] "Plerumque terrena advocatia ecclesiarum magna fuit oppressio." Jacques Flach, *Les origines de l'ancienne France* (Paris: Libraire de la Société de Recueil Sirey, 1886-1917), I, 439. *Ibid*., we read also of another complaint, "Tales quos hodie cernimus deputatos ecclesiae tutores non solummodo non sunt, verum etiam sunt pessimi insecutores et rerum ejus intolerabilissimi pervasores." See also Jean Richard, *Les ducs de Bourgogne et la formation du duché du XIe au XIVe siècle* (Paris: Société Les Belles-Lettres, 1954), 68.

According to G. Coulton, "the monastic system of (agricultural) economy necessarily led to the breakdown of the Rule."[72] Neither Cluny nor other reforms undertaken between the ninth and the eleventh century were able to remedy this situation. Monasteries were part of an economic and social system which made a breakaway extremely difficult if not altogether impossible. In the words of U. Berlière,

> Benedictine abbeys, still linked to a system of exploitation backward by three centuries, found themselves on the verge of imminent ruin, and more than one of them sustained a financial crisis. This will be ended only on the day when the administration will be brought in line with the needs of the time and the new methods of exploitation, adopted by the orders born in the twelfth century, will be introduced.[73]

In this connection it must be recalled that Benedictine monachism actually grew up with feudalism which in turn was the product of political necessities resulting from the disintegration of the Carolingian empire. It was an adequate and beneficial solution of contemporary problems. Since power and security rested on landed property and abbeys had become great estates, monasticism was able to exercise a considerable influence on contemporary society, penetrate its entire organism and render great services to all. The embeddedness into feudalism, however, contained the seeds of insurmountable problems so that the triumph of feudalism could not but affect monasticism: It increased the need of going into the world and brought the world into the monastery, a situation that could be harmonized neither with the letter nor with the spirit of the Benedictine Rule. The loser was regular life: the victim of increasing prosperity, of human weakness and sociological handicaps.[74]

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[71] E. Werner, Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen, 15-18.

[72] G. Coulton, op. cit., I, 269f.

[73] U. Berlière, L'ordre monastique, 290.

Measures aimed at a reform were not lacking during the period. One of them was the setting up of ties and controls between monasteries.

In other instances flourishing monasteries took over decadent houses in order to restore religious discipline, and worthy bishops and lay lords made worldly clerics take the monastic habit, appointing monks noted for their zeal in their place. But these endeavors offered no adequate help to Benedictine monachism. The latter had become a part of the feudal world; hence it was impossible to introduce effective changes and remedies without overturning the whole contemporary social order and thus hastening the ruin of existing corporations such as monasteries.[75]

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[74] E. Sackur, op. cit., II, 30-32; U. Berlière, "Les origines de l'Ordre de Cîteaux," loc. cit., 268f. and 457; and E. Werner, Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen, 26.

The victory of the monk--so obvious during the golden age of Cluny and in the earlier phases of the Gregorian Reform--was followed by a let-up. In the second half of the eleventh century, traditional monachism began to show signs of having exhausted its resources. The result was fatigue. The Christianization of feudal society and the great exertions this involved had inescapably sapped its strength. New solutions were needed to satisfy ardent souls and, as will be seen, the eleventh century provided them in full measure.

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[75] U. Berlière, "Les origines de l'Ordre de Citeaux," loc. cit., 466; H. Leclercq, op. cit., 49; Ch. Dereine, "Vie commune," loc. cit., 387; B. Bligny, "Un aspect de la vie réligieuse," loc. cit., 285 and A. Gerards, "Die ersten Cistercienser," loc. cit., 2.

CHAPTER IV

MONASTIC REFORM: CONCILIAR LEGISLATION IN ELEVENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

In his article on the observance of the Benedictine Rule by the early Cistercians K. Spahr voiced the belief that local synodal enactments in eleventh-century France have undoubtedly influenced the thinking of the Cistercian pioneers.[1] He did not, however, elaborate; hence the need for a detailed consideration of the subject. This will also supplement the chapter on the crisis of cenobitism.

The practice of holding diocesan or provincial synods in Gaul dates, contrary to some experts' opinion,[2] from pre-Merovingian times. At least twenty-three councils are recorded between the years 314 and 506.[3] Clovis held a council, at Orleans, in 511; from then to 695 A.D. fifty-six more such gatherings took place.[4] They dealt mostly with local diocesan matters, as proposed by the bishop. According to R. Holtzmann, they attained "no great importance" and the attempt to organize them on a yearly basis failed.[5] Be this as it may, one must nevertheless point to the fact that several councils--it will suffice to mention Angers (453), Vannes (between 461-491) and Agde (506)--considered also problems affecting the monks' life, among them the various aspects of vagrancy.[6] And the councils of the sixth and seventh centuries paid further attention to the keeping of the monastic vows, the observance of the Benedictine Rule and the elimination of the world from the monastery.[7] Canon 15 of the council of Autun (663-680) stated in particular,

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[1] Kolumban Spahr, "Die Anfänge von Cîteaux," Bernhard von Clairvaux Mönch und Mystiker. Internationaler Bernhardkongress Mainz, 1953, ed. Joseph Lortz (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1955), 220f.

[2] Paul Hinschius, Das Kirchenrecht der Katholiken und Protestanten in Deutschland. System des katholischen Kirchenrechts mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Deutschland (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1959), III, 539ff. and R. Holtzmann, op. cit., 159.

[3] C. Munier (ed.), Concilia Galliae A. 314-A. 506. (CCSL vol. 148; Turnholti: Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii, 1963), 3-228.

> On the subject of abbots and monks this was agreed: Whatever canonical legislation or the Rule of Saint Benedict teaches, they must fulfill and observe in every detail... Let the monks be all obedient; let them be shining examples of frugality; let them be fervent in the divine office, steadfast in prayer and persevering in charity... Let them be of one heart and one mind. Let no one make

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[4] Carolus de Clercq (ed.), Concilia Galliae A. 511-A. 695. (CCSL vol. 148A; Turnholti: Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii, 1963), 3-326. On the council of Orleans see Mansi, 8, 350.

[5] Op. cit., 159.

[6] CCSL vol. 148, 138. 153. 205ff.

[7] Cf. CCSL vol. 148A, 348.

> claims to ownership; let them have all things in common; let them work in common and practice hospitality at all times.[8]

The great council of Aachen (817) with its impact on contemporary monasticism and subsequent centuries has already been considered in this paper[9] and needs not be reviewed here. It did not set up a precedent, however, for after the disintegration of the Carolingian empire church councils became a rarity: They met only at great and irregular intervals, and during the tenth century, with its weak monarchs on the Frankish throne, no national synod was held at all prior to the year 991. There were however local synods during the tenth century and in the first half of the eleventh century, with litigations and problems of discipline, administration and protection against attacks and oppression figuring prominently on their agenda.[10] The councils of the early eleventh century--especially those of Poitiers (1000), Verdun-sur-les-Doubs (1016), Elne (1027), Bourges (1031), Limoges (1031), Elne (1050) and Narbonne (1054)--sought, above all, to promote the cause of peace.[11] Somewhat later, i.e. from the middle of the eleventh century, the synodal movement gained full strength as a result of its furtherance by the revitalized papacy. Whereas in Germany the monarchy felt strong enough to take an active interest in church and monastic reform through the instrumentality of church councils, the Frankish kings saw councils summoned and held in their realm without having been consulted on the matter. Thus, and in view of the Gregorian reform's success among the French clergy, the papacy was able to seize the initiative in France. It was the Pope and his legates, and not the king, who summoned and conducted provincial or local councils in eleventh-century France.[12]

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[8] Ibid., 319.

[9] See ch. I, 10ff.

[10] P. Hinschius, op. cit., III, 483f. and 569-572. See also Henri Maisonneuve, La morale chrétienne d'après les conciles des Xe et XIe siècles (Analecta Mediaevalia Namurcensia, 15; Louvain: Editions Nauwelaerts, 1962), 1f.

That there was a need to deal with monastic problems in the early tenth century, is seen from the council of Trosly (909)[13] which drafted a lengthy canon in an attempt to rectify monastic ills. It deplored the sad state of monasteries, ruined by Norse raids and internal difficulties.[14]

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[11] P. Hinschius, op. cit., III, 484. Cf. also H. Maisonneuve, op. cit., 25.

[12] P. Hinschius, op. cit., 485 and 571.

[13] Mansi 18a, 263-308. See also Charles-Joseph Hefele and Henri Leclercq, Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1911), IV-2, 722ff.; E. Sackur, op. cit., I, 33; A. Fliche, La réforme grégorienne, I, 31; and H. Maisonneuve, op. cit., 9f.

[14] "Monasteriorum...quaedam a Paganis succensa vel destructa, quaedam rebus spoliata & ad nihilum prope redacta." Mansi 18a, 270.

Among the latter it singled out the evils caused by the so-called commenda system whereby laymen were rewarded with and given charge of monasteries, in violation of monastic traditions and Church law. It meant the installation of lay abbots (abbates laici) who, more often than not, brought women, children, soldiers and dogs with them into the monastery.[15] Unable to read and ignorant of both Scripture and Rule, these abbots could in no way fulfill their obligations, i.e. explain the Rule, instruct their charges and enforce the legislation aimed at improving religious life.[16] Such a disregard of the Benedictine ideals could not but impair the monks' religious fervor. They came to dislike humility and simplicity, more intent on travel and vanities which even good laymen abhor as indecent or unbecoming. Never content with community life, they began to work on the promotion of their own interests, and all this for the sake of shameful gains.[17] To remedy this anomaly, the council prescribed that abbots be chosen from the monastic order; they should be men well-versed in religious discipline. They should be guides and models to their subjects and show them the way which leads, by degrees, to perfection. To combat the evils of vagrancy, they should provide their subjects with all the necessities in food and clothing, as ordained by the Rule of St. Benedict. In addition, the council urged the monks to lead a life of moderation and simplicity, to seek no contacts with the world and to fight vanity. For the monk's life must always be in harmony with the implications of his name.[18]

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[15] "Nunc autem in monasteriis Deo dicatis...abbates laici, cum suis uxoribus, filiis & filiabus, cum militibus morantur et canibus." Mansi 18a, 271. Their behavior left much to be desired: "Terrenis negotiis vacant...moribus vivunt incompositis;" (ibid., 270). The system was a clear violation of Church law, for neither could religious have a lay superior nor could laymen interfere in the internal affairs of a monastery. "Contra omnem ecclesiae auctoritatem praelatis utuntur extraneis...Prohibent quippe sacri canones ni aliquis laicus de religione praesumat" (ibid.). See also "commenda," EC IV, 50 and "commende," DDC III, 1029.

[16] Mansi 18a, 270.

In the absence of monastic initiatives, local bishops came to consider it their duty to concern themselves with the monasteries in distress, just as they were charged, in virtue of their office, with the reformation of their own clergy. Episcopal concern came to such conclusions at the council of Koblenz (922) which--while acknowledging the monks' right to elect their abbot from among themselves, as ordained by the Rule of St. Benedict--nevertheless felt that monks engaged in the ministry of souls should be placed under the local bishop's jurisdiction.[19] The synod of Augsburg (962) went even further and would have liked to subject all monks to the bishop.[20] In this light must also be seen the dispute between Cluny and the bishop of Macôn brought before the council of Anse (1025). The latter reaffirmed canon 4 of the council of Chalcedon which placed abbots and monks under the local ordinary, even though Cluny could claim papal exemption.[21]

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[17] "Auditur enim, quod spreta humilitate & abjectione monastica, ornamentis & his etiam quae bonis laicis indecentia & turpia sunt, operam impendent; & nequaquam contenti communibus rebus, propriis & lucris turpibus inserviant." Mansi 18a, 272.

[18] "Monastica vita sine regularis abbatis providentia ad pristinum et optimum vivendi nequit reformari ordinem." Mansi 18a, 270. "Censemus igitur, ut status monasteriorum inviolatus, juxta antiquam regulae traditionem & canonum constituta, serventur: & ut abbates sint religiosae personae & quae regularem noverint disciplinam...Sane ne ulla monachis evagandi vel de talibus praesumendi quippiam detur occasio, provideant abbates, vel praepositi monasteriorum, ut... omnia illis in victualibus & vestibus necessaria, sicut regula praecipit, opportune ministrentur...Monachi vero...juxta suam professionem, sobrie & pie ac simpliciter vivant... non saecularibus curis vel negotiis occupentur, non pompas mundiales requirant, non ecclesiastica jura inquietent, sed juxta proprietatem sui vocabuli quiete otium amplectantur;" *ibid*., 272.

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[19] Can. 6: "Hoc quoque statutum est, quatenus ecclesiae quorumcumque monachorum in singulis parochiis sitae, episcoporum, ut decet, divinitus subdentur regimini...Ipsi proculdubio monachi episcopis suis in omnibus obediant." Mansi 18a, 345. See also H. Maisonneuve, op. cit., 9.

[20] "Oportet etiam episcopum, in cujus dioecesi coenobium situm est, monachorum providentiam gerere: & si aliquid correctione dignum reperit, corrigere festinat." Mansi 18a, 438. Cf. also H. Maisonneuve, op. cit., 9f.

"Relegentes ergo sancti Chalcedonensis & plurimorum authenticorum conciliorum sententias, quibus praecipitur, qualiter per unamquamque regionem abbates & monachi proprio subesse debent episcopo." Mansi 18a, 423f. Cf. A. Fliche, La réforme grégorienne, I, 15. One could also mention the so-

The church councils between the years 1000 and 1150 A.D. make frequent references to serious monastic shortcomings in contemporary Frankish houses. Most frequently mentioned are apostasy, simony and, in general, a widespread disregard for the ideals of St. Benedict. To remedy the situation, the synods in question produced a great number of canons, demanding, above all,--in strong terms and under pain of adequate sanctions--an end to lay mastery of churches. According to G. Schreiber, their "tone was extremely harsh and, at the same time, revolutionary to the ear of the layman."[22] The same author published a list of eleventh-century Frankish synods dealing with the question of monastic reform, just as A. Fliche, G. Coulton, P. Hinschius and C. Richard had done before him in a somewhat different manner.[23]

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called constitutions of Oda, archbishop of Canterbury, promulgated after the council of London (a. 944) which urged monks "ut in omni humilitate et obedientia die noctuque hoc adimplere studeant, permanentes in timore Dei in ecclesiis ubi se voto constrixerunt. Non sint vagabundi, neque gyrovagi, qui nomen monachi desiderant, officium autem ejus contemnunt: sed secundum exempla apostolorum, per habitum humilitatis, laboribus manuum, & lectione sacra, & continuis orationibus se exercentes, parati...patremfamilias expectent." Mansi 18a, 396.

[22] Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 338. Cf. also G. Coulton, op. cit., I, 260.

[23] G. Schreiber, Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 301; A. Fliche, La réforme grégorienne, I, 397, II, 440f. and III, 347; idem, Le règne de Philippe Ier, 364f.; G. Coulton, op. cit., I, 260; P. Hinschius, op. cit., III, 534 n. 4; Carolus L. Richard, Analyis Conciliorum Generalium et Particularium (Venetiis: Typographia Balleonia, 1776-1780), II.

Turning now to the consideration of eleventh-century Frankish councils, the synod of Bourges (1031) stressed the importance of clerical celibacy in the face of widespread abuses and promised effective measures against all delinquents. It further objected to the lay lords' practice of keeping priests in a dependent status on benefices,[24] and in the question of monks, to unauthorized travel and vagrancy. It discouraged the latter to transfer to another monastery in quest of honors and offices, excepting only the case where the changeover was a necessity or beneficial to the soul, in the sense that the new place offered greater possibilities for an observant life; but one always needed the abbot's or the bishop's permission for the undertaking. Otherwise, i.e. if a monk--who took the monastic habit of his own accord and vowed to lead a life according to the Rule of St. Benedict in complete freedom--left his monastery without authorization, he was liable to excommunication until making the required satisfactions. If, once this has been done, the abbot of the monastery or other monks of the same place denied him readmission, he was to join the clerics attached to the (parish) church or staying in the guest house, but wear the monastic habit, practice the spirit of reverence and observe the law of abstinence.[25]

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[24] Can. 21; Mansi 19, 506. Cf. Hefele-Leclercq IV-2, 953. See also H. Lea, *op. cit.*, I, 207.

The council of Limoges which met in the same year, spoke out against the shortening of the monastic office. Twelve lessons were to be read during the Nocturns and not nine, as in the case of the canons.[26]

According to Ordericus Vitalis, Pope Leo IX held a council in the city of Reims while visiting France in 1049. This council condemned clerical incontinence, the carrying of arms by churchmen and the evils connected with proprietary churches and altars. It also censured simony, e.g. the use of money or similar means to secure one's election as abbot, and apostate monks unfaithful to their vocation.[27]

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[25] Can. 24: "Ut illi qui voluntarii, & secundum regulam S. Benedicti habitum monachi susceperunt, & postea voluntarii dereliquerunt, communione fidelium priventur usque ad emendationem dignam: Et si abbates, vel alii monachi nolunt eos suscipere: maneant cum clericis in monasteriis, vel apud ecclesias, in habitu monastico, & reverentia, atque abstinentia." Mansi 19, 506. Cf. also can. 25: "Ut...monachi de monasteriis suis, ubi prius titulati sunt, nisi causa rationabilis necessitatis, vel aedificationis animae, vel ordinem melius observandi, ad alium monasterium non transeant propter adipiscendum aliquod ministerium vel honorem, vel occupationem terrenam, absque consensu episcopi sui vel abbatis." Ibid. On the question of excommunication see Gratian, Decreti Pars Secunda, XI, iii, 1ff.; PL 187, 838ff.; DDC V, 615-628; and Heinrich Fries (ed.), Handbuch Theologischer Grundbegriffe (München: Kösel Verlag, 1962-1963), I, 375ff., esp. 379.

[26] "Numquid canonici monachos pro duodecim lectionibus vel monachi canonicos pro novem numero reprehendere possunt? ...Duodecim comprobavit ille vir spiritu omnium justorum plenus sanctusque papa Gregorius." Mansi 19, 534. Cf. also Hefele-Leclercq IV-2, 957.

The council of Toulouse (1056) set the lowest age limit of an abbot at thirty years. It further decreed the ineligibility of a cleric to the office of abbot if he had become a monk for the sole purpose of obtaining this dignity; he must, however, remain in the abbey as a simple monk or else he will incur excommunication. Abbots were also told to fulfill their responsibilities toward their monasteries and provide their subjects with all the necessities in food and clothing, as envisioned by the Rule of St. Benedict. They should not tolerate, however, that monks retain anything of their own. Should an abbot or a monk fail on this account, then the local bishop will have the authority to step in and take the necessary corrective measures.[28]

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[27] Ordericus Vitalis, Historia Ecclesiastica, PL 188, 416. See also Mansi 19, 742; Hefele-Leclercq IV-2, 1011ff.; C. Richard, op. cit., II, 9; H. Lea, op. cit., 221 n. 3, and A. Fliche, La réforme grégorienne, I, 137. Important for our purposes is can. 8, stating "Ne quis monachus...a suo gradu apostataret." Mansi 19, 742. Philippe Labbé published additional, though defective, texts in Sacrosancta Concilia (Lutetiae Parisiorum: Impensis Societatis Typographicae, 1671), IX, 1048.

[28] See especially canon 2: "Item placuit confirmare... ut abbas...ante triginta annos non ordinetur;" can. 5: "Statuit idem sancta synodus, ut si quis clericorum adipiscendae abbatiae causa monachus effectus fuerit, in abbatia quidem monachus permaneat, sed ad ipsum honorem, ad quem adspirabat, nullatenus accedat. Quod si praesumpserit, excommunicetur;" and can. 6: "Item decrevit, ut abbates curam monachorum & monasteriorum exerceant, & eis victum & vestitum secundum

In 1059, Pope Nicholas II threatened with excommunication all vagrant monks, unless they returned to their monastery and observed regular discipline.[29] The Pontiff also reminded both abbots and monks that they may not keep possessions and warned that the practice of simony will result in the loss of the office or privilege thus obtained. In addition he announced, if an abbot alienated community goods or objects pertaining to the divine service without the consent of the community, he will face excommunication.[30]

Still in the same year, the council of Rouen warned that no one should take the monastic habit because he has

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regulam sancti Benedicti praebeant: & hoc agentes proprium eos habere nullatenus permittant. Ipsi vero monachi absque voluntate abbatis praeposituram aliquam non teneant. Abbas autem vel monachus has institutiones corrigentes, a propriis corrigantur episcopis." Mansi 19, 847. Cf. also Hefele-Leclercq IV-2, 1122ff. and C. Richard, *op. cit.*, II, 10.

[29] *Ad episcopos Galliae*, 2. "De monachis vero propositum non servantibus decrevimus ut quousque ad propositum redeant et in monasterio regulariter consistant, communione privati permaneant." Mansi 19, 873. Cf. Hefele-Leclercq IV-2, 1168 f. See also *supra*, n. 24.

[30] *Decreta Nicolai II. Papae*: "14. Ut nullus Abbas obedientias suas vendat, neque nullus monachus emat obedientias. Quod si praesumpserint, utrique ordine officioque careant, quia simoniace agunt. Et monachi proprium omnino non habeant. 15. Abbatibus...quid de rebus ecclesiasticis vel sacro ministerio alienare vel obligare absque permissu & subscriptione conventus sui nihil liceat. Quod si praesumpserit, degradetur, communione concessa; & quod temere praesumptum est & alienatum ordinatione sui episcopi revocetur." Mansi 19, 875f.

hopes of becoming abbot or was promised such dignity.[31]

To combat simony, the council of Vienne (1060) felt the need to reaffirm the provisions of the council of Chalcedon prohibiting the acquisition of an ecclesiastical office or dignity, including that of an abbot, through emption or similar agreements. Hence the decision that in case of infringement the giver of such favors will lose his rank and dignity, and the receiver will forfeit his ill-acquired office or benefice, with no prospect of ever recovering it.[32]

This enactment was repeated, almost verbatim, by the council of Tours, also of the same year, with the further ordinance that no one may accept a church, either small or great, from a layman without the consent of the bishop of the diocese. Nor should churches be accepted by anyone if donated by a cleric or a monk, for this would amount to venality, in which case both given and receiver will lose the church in question. The council also dealt with the problem of vagrancy and decreed that a monk who deserts his abbey will be excommunicated and considered an apostate until he made adequate reparations. If, thereafter, the abbot refused to reinstate him, he (the abbot) will be suspended from community life after three warnings, until changing his mind about the repentant culprit's readmission.[33]

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[31] "Ut nullus habitum monachi suscipiat, spem aut promissionem habens ut abbas fiat." Mansi 19, 898. Cf. also Hefele-Leclercq IV-2, 1168.

[32] "Sancti Spiritus auctoritate, ut Chalcedonensi synodi sententia de simoniacis prolata, ab omnibus observetur, quatenus quicumque deinceps pecunia, aut aliqua interveniente conventione saeculari, aut quolibet modo, contra canonicam censuram, episcopatum, abbatiam, aut archidiaconatum, seu archipresbyteratum, aut aliquam dignitatem ecclesiasticam, seu aliquem gradum, vel ministerium, vel beneficium, quod nonnisi clericis habere sanctorum Patrum sancivit auctoritas, dare vel accipere quolibet modo canonibus contrario tentaverit: & dans a proprio decidat gradu et dignitate: & accipiens ministerium seu beneficium male usurpatum numquam recuperaturus amittat." Mansi 19, 925f. Cf. Hefele-Leclercq IV-2, 1202.

The council of Caen (1061) advised abbots sojourning in the countryside to stay in the vicinity of monasteries, so as not to give public offense as vagrants.[34]

A few years later, the synod of Toulouse (1068) urged monks "to live religiously according to the Rule of St. Benedict."[35]

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[33] Can. 4: "Nullus ecclesiam magnam vei parvam, deinceps sine consensu episcopi, in cujus parochia est, a laicis praesumat accipere quolibet modo: sed neque a clerico, vel monacho, seu laico, sub pretii alicujus venalitate. Quod si fecerit: & vendens, & emens, ea careat." Mansi 19, 927. See also can. 10: "Quicumque monasticae religionis desertor inventus fuerit: a regno Dei & a consortio Christianorum, sicut apostata, excludatur, & alienus existat, donec resipiscens digne paeniteat. Similiter qui ejusmodi digne poenitentes tertio recipere noluerit, tertio admonitus, si non adquieverit, a communione fratrum suspendatur, sive sit abbas, sive abbatissa, donec acquiescant." Ibid., 928. Cf. Hefele-Leclercq IV-2, 1202f.

[34] "Ut abbates, aliique Praelati ruri commorantes in urbes monasteriis vicinas se conferrent, ne cum publica offensione huc illucque vagari viderentur. Mansi 19, 937.

[35] This council met on the occasion of the restoration of the bishopric of Lectour and decided, under the

The question of vagrant monks who either left their monastery on their own initiative or were expelled because of a misdeed, figured also on the agenda of the council of Rouen (1072). The decision was that every effort should be made to effect the return of these fugitives to their monastery, even if it meant the use of force. If the abbot denied them readmission, they were to be supplied with alms and given permission to support themselves through their own handiwork, as long as they kept mending their ways.[36]

A second council of Rouen, which met in 1074, prescribed that only those may be consecrated abbots who proved themselves previously in regular discipline. A monk guilty of a public crime was therefore ineligible; nor could he be appointed to an office that would take him outside the monastery. A further canon stipulated that the monks should not take up new customs, but adhere to the traditional practices of their order. They should, in addition, observe the Rule

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presidency of Hugh of Silva Candida, inter alia, "Judicatum est igitur a fratribus omnibus illius sancti conventus...monachos ...religiose & secundum regulam sancti Benedicti vivere." Mansi 19, 1066.

[36] Can. 12: "Item monachi et sanctimoniales, qui relictis suis ecclesiis per orbem vagantur, alii pro nequitiis suis a monasteriis expulsis: quos pastorali aucteritate oportet compellere, ut ad monasteria sua redeant. Et si expulsos abbates recipere noluerint, victum eleemosynae eis tribuant, quae etiam manuum labore acquirant, quousque si vitam suam emendaverint videantur." Mansi 20, 38. Cf. also Hefele-Leclercq IV-2, 1282 and C. Richard, op. cit., II, 12.

of St. Benedict in its integrity, and make no departures from it in such fields as silence, vigils, fasts, clothing and the taking of oaths.[37]

The canons of the council of Poitiers (1078) spoke out against abbots accepting abbeys, churches or benefices from the king, a count or any other lay person, for in the council's mind such favors must be conferred by the local ordinary. It also condemned the accumulation of benefices--bishoprics, abbeys, archdeaconries, cathedrals, prebends, etc.--in line with the rule: One prelate, one church. Then, it promised stiff penalties for those who practiced simony: Whoever procured a favor or an office in such a manner, will be deposed and the cause of the scandal removed. Moreover abbots satisfied to remain in the order of deacons were ordered to have themselves ordained to the priesthood or else lose their office. Finally, abbots and monks were to discontinue the practice of imposing penance, unless commissioned by the ordinary, and to abstain from seeking the possession or control of churches they never owned before.[38]

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[37] Can. 2: "Quod nullus ordinetur abbas, nisi prius diuturna conversatione monasticae vitae disciplinam assecutus fuerit." Mansi 20, 398. In this connection can. 6 prescribes, "Nullus monachus corporali crimine publice lapsus abbas ordinetur vel in aliquo exteriori officio praeficiatur." Ibid., 399. On the observance of the Rule see can. 7 which ordains "Ut regula B. Benedicti in utroque sexu incommutabiliter observetur, ut neque in vigiliis, neque in jejuniis, sive indumentis ab ejus institutionibus dissideant; nec...si alia lege vivere voluerint, quam ordo exigit, permittantur. Juramenta quae contra regularem observantiam faciunt, omnino omittant & silentium quod penitus omiserunt, teneant." Ibid. Cf. also Hefele-Leclercq V-1, 112f. and C. Richard, op. cit., II, 14.

The council of Lillebonne (1080) legislated, whenever a church was donated to monks, the priest or chaplain of the church in question was to retain the rights he had before the donation. In case he died or became incapacitated, then the abbot was to look for another priest and present him, either in person or through a representative, to the bishop for confirmation. If the priest decided to join the monks, it was still his duty to see to it that the church in which he was installed with the permission of the bishop was well taken care of, especially in the subject of vestments and books, but only as far as the means at hand allowed it. If the priest preferred to live by himself, the abbot was to give him from the church's income as much as he needed to live suitably and fulfill his obligations properly. If the abbot failed on this account, then the local bishop was to intervene and ensure the execution of these provisions.[39]

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[38] Can. 1: "Ut nullus episcopus, abbas, presbyter, vel quaelibet persona de clero accipiat de manu regis vel comitis, vel cujuslibet laicae personae donum episcopatus, vel abbatiae, vel ecclesiae, vel aliquarum ecclesiasticarum rerum. Sed episcopus a suo metropolitano, abbas, presbyter & ceterae inferiores personae a proprio episcopo." Can. 2: "Ut nemo...abbatiam...in duabus ecclesiis...exerceat nisi in una tantum: & neutram horum quisquam per pecuniam acquirat. Et quicumque tali modo jam adquisisse comprobatur, omni remota occasione deponatur." Can. 5: "Ut nullus abbas, monachus vel quilibet alius poenitentias injungat, nisi quibus proprius episcopus hanc curam dederit." Can. 6: "Ut abbates, monachi...ecclesias quas numquam habuerunt non emant, nec alio modo sibi vindicant." Can. 7: "Ut abbates, diaconi, qui presbyteri non sunt, presbyteri fiant aut praelationes amittant." Mansi 20, 498. Cf. also Hefele-Leclercq V-1, 229ff.

In 1082, the council of Meaux decreed that abbeys with less than ten monks or not sufficiently endowed to support such a number should be reduced to simple cells and subjected to Cluny or Marmoutiers. Too much opposition, however, brought the resolution to nought.[40]

The council of Amalfi (1089), though not held on

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[39] Can. 12: "Si donatur monachis ecclesia, presbyter qui tenet ecclesiam honorifice teneat quicquid de eadem ecclesia haberet antequam monachi eam haberent: & tanto melius, quanto sanctioribus associatur hominibus: eo autem mortuo, vel aliquatenus deficiente, abbas idoneum quaerat presbyterum, & episcopo eum per se vel per nuntium suum ostendat. Quem si recipiendus est, episcopus recipiat. Si vero presbyter cum monachis religiose vivere voluerit, videat ut ecclesia, quam episcopali licentia intravit, honeste tractetur, tam in vestimentis, quam in libris & ceteris ecclesiae serviendae necessariis secundum ejusdem ecclesiae facultatem. Quod si presbyter cum monachis vivere noluerit, tantum ei det abbas de bonis ecclesiae, unde & bene vivere & ecclesiae servitium convenienter valeat adimplere. Quod si abbas facere noluerit, ab episcopo convenienter cogatur ut faciat." Mansi 20, 557.

[40] "Ego Robertus in Meldensi concilio a Romano legato nomine Hugone Meldensis ecclesiae consecratus episcopus notum facio...quod in episcopatu nostra quaedam erat ecclesiae... quae abbatiae nomen habebat, sed per incuriam habitantium dignitatem hujus nominis amiserat. Ordinavit igitur supradictum concilium, ut hujusmodi abbatiae cellae fierent & cellae nominarentur, religiosisque monachis traderentur." Mansi 20, 587. Cf. also G. Tellenbach, _op. cit_., 273; J. Evans, _op. cit_., 26f.; W. Lühe, _op. cit_., 92 n. 1; Antonio de Yepez, _Cronica de la Orden de San Benito Patriarca de religiosos_ (Irache: por Matias Mares, 1609-1621), IV, 331; J. Mabillon, _Annales ordinis S. Benedicti_, V, _Appendix_ 19 and RHF XIV, 38.

French soil, had its repercussions on the latter as well, especially on account of its prohibition to laymen to grant tithes, churches or similar favors to monasteries, without the consent of the local ordinary or the permission of the Roman Pontiff. Abbots were also forbidden to demand gifts for someone's reception into the monastery, and bishops were bidden to put an end to monastic vagrancy.[41]

The question, whether monks could legitimately engage in parish work or take part in curial functions, was discussed by the council of Autun (1094) under the presidency of Archbishop Hugh of Lyons. It answered in the negative, seeing in the monks' endeavor a usurpation of the rights of the diocesan clergy. Similar sentiments inspired the injunction that monks make no propaganda among canons for the purpose of winning them for the monastery.[42]

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[41] Can. 5: "Nullus laicus decimas suas aut ecclesiam, aut quidquid ecclesiastici juris est, sine consensu episcopi, vel Romani concessione pontificis, monasteriis aut canonicis offerre praesumat." Can. 6: "Nullus abbas, nullus ecclesiarum praepositus, quae juris sunt ecclesiastici accipere sine episcopi concessione praesumat." Can. 7: "Nullus abbas pretium exigere ab eis qui ad conversionem veniunt aliqua placiti occasione praesumat." Can. 10: "Constituimus, ne quis episcopus aut primas monachum quemlibet vagantem in sua dioecesi provinciave retineat, nisi abbatis proprii fuerit literis regulariter commendatus." Mansi 20, 723. Cf. Hefele-Leclercq V-1, 344 and C. Richard, op. cit., II, 16.

[42] "Monachis interdicitur, ne...parroechialium sacerdotum officia in parrochiis usurpent." Bernold of Constance, Chronicon, MGH, SS V, 461; RHF XI, 23ff.; PL 154, 351f.;

The great assembly of Clermont, summoned and attended by Pope Urban II in 1095, strictly forbade that laymen retain the ownership of tithes, altars or churches, and that clerics accept ecclesiastical favors from the former. It also ruled that in churches belonging to monks the faithful should not be ministered to by monks, but by a chaplain installed by the bishop at the monks' suggestion whose appointment, transfer and daily needs remained the bishop's responsibility.[43] This legislation may have had its precedent in the Roman synod of 1083 which stated that no monk could rightfully assume the functions of a parish priest, except in case of necessity, i.e.

Mansi 20, 799; Hefele-Leclercq V-1, 387; W. Lühe, *op. cit.*, 15 and 96; *Bernard de Clairvaux*, 568. In some instances monks undertook the *cura animarum* as a result of stipulations made by donors; cf. M. Prou, *op. cit.*, 264, citing the case of Bec. In this connection, the councils of Poitiers (1078), Clermont (1095) and Rome (1096) emphatically stressed the rights of the local ordinary. Cf. A. Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier*, 477. For the decision on the canons, see Mansi 20, 801f.: "Nullus abbas vel monachus canonicos regulares a proposito professionis canonicae revocare atque monasticum habitum suscipere audeat ut monachi fiant, quamdiu ordinis sui ecclesiam invenire queant in qua canonice vivendo Deo servire & animam salvare possint. Quod si temerario ausu id agere temptaverint, anathematis vinculo obligentur."

[43] Can. 15: "Ut nullus ecclesiasticorum aliquem honorem a manu laicorum accipiat. Ut clericus nullum ecclesiae honorem a laicali manu accipiat." Can. 20: "Unde et interdictum est omnibus laicis, ne amplius altaria vel ecclesias sibi retineant." Mansi 20, 818. See also can. 33: "In ecclesiis ubi monachi habitant, populus per monachum non regatur, sed capellanus, qui populum regat, ab episcopo per consilium monachorum instituatur; ita tamen, ut ex solius episcopi arbitrio tam ordinatio quam depositio et totius vitae pendeat arbitrio." *Ibid.*, 820.

when baptism or absolution had to be administered; but even then only if no diocesan priest was at hand.[44]

In seeming contrast, the council of Nimes (1096) defended the monks' right to direct pastoral ministrations. It decreed that monks who gave up the world have on account of their vocation a strong desire to pray for sinful men and are, consequently, better qualified to forgive sins than the secular clergy. Moreover, the monks are imitators of the apostles who, as the Acts of the Apostles reports, "were of one heart and one soul, and...had all things in common" (4:32). Hence they are valid administrators of the sacrament of penance.[45] Yet the council was also aware of monastic shortcomings. It branded the monks who had accepted benefices from laymen "thieves and robbers" and condemned the retention of such possessions. Likewise, it directed monks never to invite persons under excommunication or interdict to take part in the divine office or to grant them burial on monastic grounds.[46]

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[44] Can. 6; Hefele-Leclercq V-1, 308. Cf. ibid., 403 n. 4 and G. Schreiber, Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 299.

[45] Can. 2: "Sunt nonnulli stulti dogmatis...asserentes monachos qui mundo mortui sunt et Deo vivunt sacerdotali officio indignos neque poenitentiam, aut Christianitatem, seu absolutionem largiri posse per sacerdotalis officii injunctam gratiam: sed omnino falluntur...B. Gregorius monachico habitu pollens...Augustinus...Anglorum praedicator egregius & Pannoniensis Martinus, aliique quam plurimi viri sanctissimi, pretioso monachorum habitu fulgentes, nequaquam annulo pontificali subarrharentur. Neque enim Benedictus monachorum praeceptor sanctissimus, hujus rei aliquo modo interdictor fuit: sed eos saecularium negotiorum dixit expertes esse debere...Credimus igitur, a sacerdotalibus monachis ligandi solvendique potestatem digne administrari: si tamen digne contigerit eos hoc ministerio sublimari. Quod evidenter affirmat, quisquis statum monachorum & habitum considerat." Can. 3: "Oportet eos qui saeculum reliquerunt majorem sollicitudinem habere pro peccatis hominum & plus valere eorum peccata solvere, quam presbyteri saeculares. Quia hi secundum regulam apostolicam vivunt & eorum sequentes vestigia,

The last council to be considered here, that of Poitiers (1100), decreed that since bishops alone should tonsure their clerics, abbots were to restrict themselves to members of the Order of St. Benedict. Abbots were directed not to use the pontifical insignia--gloves, sandals and ring--without prior permission from the Holy See, and monks were warned not to wear the maniple before the reception of the subdiaconate. They were once more forbidden to accept tithes and altars from laymen and to engage in direct pastoral activities, i.e. baptize, preach and administer the sacrament

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communem vitam ducunt, juxta id quod in actibus eorum scriptum est: 'Erat illis cor unum et anima una, & erant illis omnia communia.'" Mansi 20, 934f. See also Hefele-Leclercq V-1, 447f., and E. Lavisse, op. cit., II, 2, 218. On the question of monastic priesthood see P. Hofmeister, "Mönchtum und Seelsorge," loc. cit., 209ff.; J. Leclercq, "On Monastic Priesthood," loc. cit., 152ff.; Hefele-Leclercq V-1, 448 n. 1; DACL III, 229 n. 1.

[46] Can. 8: "Clericus vel monachus qui ecclesiasticum de manu laici susceperit beneficium, quia non intravit per ostium, sed ascendit aliunde sicut fur et latro, ab eodem separetur officio." Mansi 20, 936. Can. 16: "Monachi nullo modo recipiant and sepulturam, aut quodlibet divinum officium, excommunicatos, aut raptores, aut interdictos." Ibid., 937. Cf. also Hefele-Leclercq V-1, 449.

of penance.[47]

A topical arrangement of the synodal decrees just described reveals at once the major problems faced by contemporary monachism. The decrees stressed, first of all, the importance of the Benedictine Rule and the need to observe it without alterations. Accordingly, abbots were bidden to be mindful of their obligations toward their monks and the monastery as desired by St. Benedict, and monks encouraged to be equally faithful to the Benedictine ideals. In addition, the councils prescribed a number of remedies for existing contemporary ills.

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[47] Can. 1: "Ut nullus praeter episcopum clericis coronas benedicere praesumat, exceptis abbatibus, qui illis tantummodo coronas faciant, quos sub regula beati Benedicti militaturos susceperint." Can. 5: "Ut nemo monachorum deinceps manipulis utatur, nisi fuerit subdiaconus ordinatus." Can. 6: "Ut nullus abbatum utatur chirothecis, sandalis, annulo: nisi quibus fuerit per privilegium a Romana ecclesia concessum." Can. 9: "Ut neque clerici vel monachi per pecuniam altaria vel decimas a laicis vel quibuslibet personis sibi adquirat, similiter sub excommunicatione interdicimus." Mansi 20, 1123. Can. 10: "Ut clericis regularibus jussu episcopi sui baptizare, praedicare, poenitentiam dare, mortuos sepelire liceat." Ibid., 1132f.--The use of the maniple, at first a papal prerogative, was subsequently granted to the deacons of Rome and later to all clerics in major orders. Eventually also acolytes, laybrothers and, in general, all who participated in the office of the choir were allowed to wear a maniple in certain churches. As Lanfranc wrote to John of Reims, "Plerique autumant manipulum esse commune ornamentum omnium...nam et in coenobiis monachorum etiam laici ...solent ferre manipulum." Ep. 13; PL 150, 520. According to Rupert of Deutz, "A senibus usque ad infantes manipulos portamus." De divinis officiis, II, 23; PL 170, 54. Carthusian nuns are given a maniple at their consecration even today. The council of Poitiers shows that such practices did not meet with universal approval. Cf. Valentin Thalhofer and Ludwig Eisenhofer, Handbuch der Katholischen Liturgik (Freiburg, i.B.: Herder, 1912), I, 550ff. and II, 402f.

From now on only priests experienced and tried in monastic discipline could become abbots. Persons guilty of a public crime or of simony, and clerics entering the monastery for the sole purpose of making a career as abbots were no longer eligible to the highest office in the monastery. The holders of this office were bidden not to use the _pontificalia_ without authorization, engage in excessive travelling or seek additional honors, benefices and churches. They should tonsure only their own subjects and abstain from imposing ecclesiastical censures on outsiders.

The provisions dealing with monks stress that the latter should lead a life worthy of a religious; this is best done by observing the Rule of St. Benedict with the utmost fidelity. Hence monks should not engage in direct pastoral work--baptize, preach, or hear confessions--unless requested by the bishop of the diocese, but leave this type of apostolate to chaplains taken from the diocesan clergy. Nor should they leave their monastery and transfer to another, except in case of necessity, i.e. when the change was to the advantage of their soul. Unauthorized leaves, such as vagrancy, desertion and apostasy, called for censures, including excommunication, to be lifted only after the culprit's return to his monastery.[48] Finally, as laymen were forbidden to interfere in Church matters by donating altars, churches and benefices, so were abbots and monks ordered to refuse such favors offered by laymen and to grant special spiritual favors to persons under excommunication or interdict.

That early Cîteaux was not only aware of these synodal enactments but anxious to implement them, will be shown, in greater detail, in a subsequent chapter of this investigation. Important for our purposes is to conclude at this junction that there were definite monastic shortcomings in eleventh-century France, but that the Church took note of them and proceeded to rectify them. The desire for a renewal became thus evident.

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[48] On the problem of the transitus (also faced by the Cistercian pioneers who migrated from Molesme to Cîteaux), see the canons of the councils of Rouen (1072), London (1075), Gerone (1078) and Beneventum (1090); Mansi 20, 398. 451. 520 and 937. Cf. also Charles Dereine, "La fondation de Cîteaux d'apres l'Exordium Cistercii et l'Exordium Parvum," Cîteaux, 10(1959), 127 and below ch. VII, nn. 119-126.

CHAPTER V

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY: RENEWAL IN EARNEST

The eleventh century, with all its indications of monastic decline, was nevertheless destined to become a century of renovation par excellence.[1] The advance of the Gregorian Reform, reform attempts from within and new ways of thinking providing the climate for a number of new institutions were largely responsible for this development which, at the end of the century, saw the emergence of Cîteaux.

Being a mixture of such components as Cluny, Farfa, Aniane, Vivarium and the Lateran monastery, traditional monachism took on forms during the eleventh century that could no longer satisfy ascetics filled with higher aspirations. According to G. Coulton, "All our evidence tends to show that there were very few houses in which the Rule (of St. Benedict) was kept in anything like its original strictness."[2]

Attempts at a monastic reform from within were not lacking during the tenth and the eleventh centuries which could claim a number of reformers. In Lorraine John of Vandière (d. 976), reformer of the monastery of Gorze in 933, demanded a strict observance of the Rule and introduced ascetical practices exceeding by far the demands of the Cassinese code.[3] Richard, abbot of Saint-Vanne in Verdun (d. 1046), was another reformer who tirelessly sought to restore a life consonant with Benedictine ideals.[4] In what is today Belgium, Gerard of Brogne (d. 959) set up an observance similar to that of Benedict of Aniane which, though stressing disciplinary and ascetical practices, became the model of all monasteries in the neighborhood.[5] Around 940, Guibert (d. 962) founded the monastery of St. Peter at Gembloux in the diocese of Liège whose monks were recruited from the abbey of Gorze.[6] Poppo, abbot of Stavelot (d. 1048), worked with success on monastic reform, first in conjunction with Richard of Saint-Vanne, then, as a sort of general abbot to a whole group of monasteries in Lorraine.[7] In England, St. Dunstan (d. 988) labored for fifteen years to reform the abbey of Glastonbury, in an endeavor to restore regular Benedictine life.[8] Not surprisingly, Burgundy had one of the greatest reformers of the period, William, abbot of Saint Benignus in Dijon (d. 1031), whose influence reached as far as Italy, Germany and Fécamp in Normandy.[9] According to Raoul Glaber, William's reform, patterned after the Consuetudines of Fructuaria, a Piedmontese abbey William founded between 1001 and 1003, embraced some forty monasteries and included the monastery of Saint Michael in Tonnerre.[10] The customs of Fructuaria, drawn up for the most part by William himself, were based on the Rule of St. Benedict and the Cluniac usages then in vogue.[11] In the words of the chronicler of Saint-Benignus, "He [William] restored...the discipline of regular life as laid down by St. Benedict, which had almost perished through the negligence of the ancestors, to its pristine state."[12] His doctrine was "that, according to the precepts of St. Benedict's Rule, they [the monks] should always display humility, in word, in action and in the quality of clothing."[13] In Auvergne, St. Robert (d. 1067) founded and organized along Benedictine principles the monastery of Chaise-Dieu in the vicinity of Brioude from disciples who had gathered around his hermitage.[14] And a few years later, St. Gerard

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[1] H. DeWarren, "Le monachisme à l'apparition de saint Bernard," loc. cit., 45.

[2] Loc. cit., I, 273. See also H. DeWarren, "Le monachisme à l'apparition de saint Bernard," loc. cit., 52 and J. Leclercq, "La crise du monachisme," loc. cit., 21.

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[3] MGH, SS IV, 337-377; AS, Feb. III, 686-725. Cf. P. Schmitz, *op. cit.*, I, 161f. and U. Berlière, *L'ascèse benedictine*, 74.

[4] MGH, SS XI, 281ff. Cf. Also U. Berlière, *L'ascèse benedictine*, 74; *idem*, "L'étude des réformes monastiques," *loc. cit.*, 145 and B. Albers, *Consuetudines Monasticae*, V, 113-133 (on the rule and book of customs.)

[5] MGH, SS XV-2, 654-673. U. Berlière, "L'étude des réformes monastiques," *loc. cit.*, 141; *idem*, *L'ascèse benedictine*, 74.

[6] AS, Maj. V; U. Berlière, "L'étude des réformes monastiques," *loc. cit.*, 142f.; P. Schmitz, *op. cit.*, I, 162; *Revue Mabillon*, 4(1887), 303-307.

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[7] MGH, SS XI, 291-316; U. Berlière, L'ascèse benedictine, 74; P. Schmitz, op. cit., I, 165.

[8] Dunstan had also been on the continent where he spent some time at Gand which had close ties to Fleury. Cf. U. Berlière, "L'étude des réformes monastiques," loc. cit., 139. The author aptly remarks, "As one sees, all these reform movements are not only parallel, but concentrical." Ibid.

[9] Vita S. Guillelmi abbatis Divionensis, PL 142, 698-720. Cf. W. Williams, Monastic Studies, 99ff., especially 110.

[10] "Erant namque tam monasteria atque cellulae monachorum circiter quadraginta." PL 142, 715. Cf. GCh IV, 676 and A. Hauck, op. cit., III, 464 n. 3. On Tonnerre, in connection with Robert of Molesme, see below, ch. VII, n. 4.

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[11] B. Albers, Consuetudines Monasticae, IV.

[12] "Regularis vitae disciplinam, quae jam pene desiderat per veterum negligentiam, prout beatus Benedictus eam composuit in pristinum statum corrigendo restauravit, ac per diversas mundi partes per plura monasteria a regulari tramite devia, tam per se quam per suos, quos abbates ordinaverat, monastico ordini subdidit." Chronicon S. Benigni Divionensis, PL 162, 823.

[13] "Ejus doctrina fuit ut juxta quod praecipit sancti Benedicti Regula in verbo, in omni actione, in vestitus qualitate, humilitatem videntibus se semper ostenderent." Ibid., PL 162, 837.

[14] PL 171, 1505-1532 (Vita). Cf. AS, Apr. III, and L'eremitismo in occidente nei secoli XI e XII. Atti della seconda Settimana Internazionale di Studio, Mendola, 30 agosto-6 settembre 1962 (Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali, IV; Milano: Società Editrice Vita e Pensiero, 1965), 201. Hereafter cited, L'eremitismo in occidente.

(d. 1095) laid the foundations of the abbey of Sauve-Majeure (1079) on a tract of forest donated by the Count of Poitou and restored manual labor--in the form of clearing the land--for his monks.[15]

All these foundations indicated the existence of reform centers outside the radius of Cluny. Working in specific regions and supported by powerful patrons, they won over one French monastery after the other for the reform. They represent independent endeavors, with such common traits as fleeing the world and leading a life based on the broad foundations of the Benedictine Rule. But since their effectiveness rested on the prestige of one man--the founder--their success was, unfortunately, not lasting.[16]

Of a like, if not greater, importance was the abbey of Fleury on the Loire, reformed by Odo of Cluny, and in time a flourishing reform center with its own usages[17] and a great devotion to St. Benedict of Nursia. The roots of the latter go back to the years 672-673, when Aigulf, a monk of Fleury visited Monte Cassino, saved the relics of St. Benedict from the ruins of the monastery and took them to Fleury where they were fittingly enshrined and always given due honors.[18] In one of his sermons at Fleury, Odo of Cluny likened St. Benedict to Moses of the Old Testament.[19] This veneration reached even greater proportions during the eleventh century when Fleury, by now a center of intensive literary activities, produced an impressive literary output in glorification of the great Benedict, a fact mostly overlooked by students of the period.[20]

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[15] AS, Apr. I, 412-421.

[16] E. Sackur, op. cit., II, 438. Cf. H. DeWarren, "Le monachisme à l'apparition de saint Bernard," loc. cit., 57. In this connection U. Berlière remarks, "Hence let us well beware that when studying the various reform movements of this period we isolate the one from the other. The ancient monks were not isolated in their solitudes to such an extent that they took no interest to acquaint themselves with the various manifestations of contemporary religious life. The pilgrimages of a Cassian in Egypt, of a St. Benedict of Aniane, of a John de Vandière (Gorze) in Italy had but one aim: to put to profit the instruction one was able to receive in the contacts made with the masters of the spiritual life and with monastic observances." "L'étude des réformes monastiques," loc. cit., 144.

A further sign of renewal may be seen in the foundation of the convent of Marcigny by Hugh of Cluny, shortly after the middle of the century. This was done, in part, with a view to reduce the dangers of clerical incontinence in Burgundy, by providing an opportunity for penitents of both sexes to take the religious habit and submit to monastic discipline.[21]

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[17] B. Albers, Consuetudines Monasticae, V, 134-151.

[18] Historia translationis Sancti Benedicti in Galliam, AS, Mart. III, 301. Cf. E. Sackur, op. cit., I, 89 and II, 357 and 402; M. Mourre, op. cit., 249f.; "Mont-Cassin," DACL, XI, 2460.

[19] E. Sackur, op. cit., II, 334f.

[20] Ibid., II, 348-351.

While this went on, eastern monachism continued to influence its western counterpart. At the close of the tenth century, St. Gerard, bishop of Toul (d. 994), had, for instance, gathered a great number of Greek monks in his residence where they celebrated the daily divine praises "as it was done in their native land."[22] A few years later, Richard of Saint-Vanne made the acquaintance of the hermit Simeon while on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and brought him back to Lorraine where at the _Porta Nigra_ of Trier he lived as a recluse until his death in 1035.[23] At the council of Limoges (1031) a cleric of Angoulême told the assembled fathers that a few years before several hermit-monks from Mount Sinai had settled in the region and that he had consulted two of them, Simeon and Cosmas, on the question whether St. Martial should be accorded the honors given to an apostle.[24] In 1037, "the

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[21] E. Petit, _op. cit._, I, 197. Cf. also _supra_, ch. II, nn. 103-105.

[22] MGH, SS IV, 501. Cf. Louis Gougaud, "L'oeuvre des _Scotti_ dans l'Europe occidentale (Fin VIe-Fin XIe siècles)," RHE, 9(1908), 274 n. 2.

[23] _L'eremitismo in occidente_, 165 and _ibid._, 62 n. 94 Cf. N. Huyghebaert, "Moines et clerc italiens en Lotharingie (VIIIe-XIIe siècle)," _Fédération archéologique et historique de Belgique_, 33e congrès (Tournai, 1949), 95-111.

[24] "Ego autem quemdam Graecum peritum interrogans... Ante hos plures annos quidam ex fratribus de monte Sinai in

Greek abbot Bartholomew" is listed in Benedict IX's entourage.[25] Greek pilgrimages "to the tombs of the apostles" went on, even after the break of 1054. From Rome and from southern Italy eastern monachism, with its stress on solitude, contemplative peace and aversion to secular learning,[26] continued to reach the West, as is seen from the case of the "poor Beneventan (hermit) named Ursus," who arrived in Lorraine between the years 1060 and 1070.[27] In 1088, Bari in southern Italy solemnly welcomed the remains of St. Nicholas, bishop of Myra.[28]

Nor did Celtic monks give up their missionary efforts, their peregrinatio pro Christo, on the continent, even though

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hanc partem advenerunt occiduam Dei disponente nutu, moribus graves, doctrina catholica fidei profluentes, vita per omnia honesti, utriusque linguae periti: qui cum diu nobiscum Engolismae fuissent expectantes principem civitatis, et literis Graecis & Latinis eos videremus ad unguem imbutos, super hac re interrogare curavimus eos." Mansi 19, 517.

[25] "Bartholomaeus abbas Graecus;" ibid., 19, 587.

[26] L'eremitismo in occidente, 355 n. 2. Ibid., 374 is a good outline of Greek monastic ideals. See also Georg Grützmacher, Die Bedeutung Benedikts von Nursia und seiner Regel in der Geschichte des Mönchtums (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1892), 40-42.

[27] "Pauper Ursus, natione Beneventanus;" L'eremitismo in occidente, 58 and 62 n. 94.

[28] Ordericus Vitalis, Historia Ecclesiastica, PL 188, 534. Cf. Albert Mirgeler, Geschichte Europas (Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1958), 82ff.

the austere rule of St. Columban (d. 615) had to yield, gradually, to the more discreet Rule of St. Benedict in the West,--a development the great abbeys of Luxeuil, Bobbio, Honau, Remiremont and St. Gall were unable to stem.[29] From the middle of the ninth century, Celtic monasteries and hospices sprang up in increasing numbers on the continent.[30] St. Kaddroe (d. 975) who arrived with his twelve companions on the continent shortly before the middle of the tenth century, found in the forest of Thiérache "a place destined for them...from centuries where they could serve the Lord, living by the labor of their hands."[31] Kaddroe, for a while a member of the abbey of Fleury, eventually became abbot of Waulsort and was subsequently called upon to take charge of the monastery of Saint-Clement at Metz which had lost its fervor. In 975 the monastery of St. Martin of Cologne was given to Celts "in perpetuity."[32] The already mentioned

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[29] G. Schreiber, Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 399 and 414. Cf. H. Taylor, op. cit., I, 374.

[30] L. Gougaud, "L'oeuvre des Scotti," loc. cit., 272.

[31] "Locum a seculo eis paratum, ubi labore manuum suarum viventes Domino possent servire." L'eremitismo in occidente, 50 n. 28. Cf. AS, Mart. I, 474; E. Sackur, op. cit., I, 181-186; U. Berlière, "L'étude des réformes monastiques," loc. cit., 143; L. Gougaud, "l'oeuvre des Scotti," loc. cit., 267 n. 5 and 273.

[32] L. Gougaud, "L'oeuvre des Scotti," loc. cit., 274. See also PL 147, 780.

Gerard of Toul sheltered also Celtic monks--Scotti, the only term designating "Irish" in contemporary texts--in his episcopal residence.[33] Before the turn of the century, the Irishman Fingen became abbot of St. Clement's at Metz; he ended his reforming career in the abbey of Saint-Vanne in Verdun.[34] In 1042 the monastery of St. Pantaleon, Cologne, was handed over to Celtic monks.[35] Before the middle of the century the Scottus Animchad (d. 1043) had lived as a recluse on the outskirts of Fulda. Paternus, another Scottus, died in a fire in 1058, after spending many years as a solitary near Paderborn. Marianus Scottus was at St. Martin's in Cologne from 1056 to 1058 and then went as a recluse to the already mentioned region of Fulda from 1059 to 1069. Mucheratus lived as a hermit near Ratisbon, around the year 1075. A second Marianus Scottus settled St. Peter's in Ratisbon,[36] while other Celts made similar foundations in the cities of Würzburg, Nuremberg, Erfurt and Vienna.[37]

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[33] See above, n. 21.

[34] L. Gougaud, "L'oeuvre des Scotti," loc. cit., 273f.

[35] Ibid., 275.

[36] Ibid., 276, with documentation, on Animchad, Paternus, Marianus Scottus and Mucheratus.

[37] Wilhelm Levison, "Die Iren und die Fränkische Kirche," Historische Zeitschrift, 109(1912), 21.

Turning back to traditional monachism, it should be recalled that since the Rule of St. Benedict was a rule for beginners which stressed discretion, purposely left certain questions (e.g. active and contemplative life) unsettled, and made allowances to geography, climate, local conditions and human factors, regular observances in the various individual monasteries showed a great variety in questions of discipline (food, clothing, silence and work) and liturgical celebrations. Community life, already punctuated by frequent feast days and various liturgical seasons, had therefore even more variations. This called for a regulation, a fixation of the manifold activities and services. As a result of this, articulated and minutely detailed usages (*consuetudines*, *usus*) were drawn up in a great many monasteries in France, Burgundy, Lorraine and England during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Disciplinary and liturgical usages were put in writing, so as to ensure the survival and the legitimate interpretation of a particular observance and its adoption by neighboring or related monasteries.[38]

These usages, circulating informally from house to house and spreading a definite standard of life, established certain spiritual bonds between individual monasteries. The adoption of common usages promoted the idea of unity which is the basis of every monastic reform movement. In England, for instance, the plan was conceived to have a single constitution for all monasteries.[39] As U. Berlière remarked, "The search for unity in monastic observance manifested itself perhaps never in a livelier and more complete fashion than during the tenth and eleventh centuries."[40] For in all great monastic reforms there is a tendency to mark the common family origin by a more or less complete adherence to a uniform observance.[41] As for the eleventh century, in spite of divergences in detail and local particularities, a closer look at the usages than in force--e.g. Gorze; Fulda; St. Emmeram, Ratisbon; St. Maximilian, Trier; Fleury; Marmoutier; Cluny, St. Benignus, Dijon; Hirsau; Farfa, etc.--reveal remarkably similar traits, as can be seen from the number of prayers added to the divine office; the regulations on food and drink; the reception of postulants; the education of oblates; the title, number and jurisdiction of the monastic officials, etc.[42] As B. Albers has demonstzàted, the surviving *usus* texts are all Cluniac in nature, going back, in direct line, to Benedict of Aniane. The ideas and ideals which animated the reformers of the tenth and the eleventh century are unmistakeably taken from Ardo's biography and, in addition, the *Concordia regularum* and the *Capitulare monasticum* of 817.[43] But there is nowhere a question of subordination, as envisioned by Benedict of Aniane; one can talk, at the most, of spiritual bonds resulting from the adoption of common usages, bonds that served as models to later reforms in the eleventh century.[44]

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[38] Ursmer Berlière, "Les coutumiers monastiques," *Revue Bénédictine*, 23(1906), 261f. Cf. *idem*, "Les origines de l'Ordre de Cîteaux," *loc. cit.*, 453; *idem*, "L'étude des réformes monastiques," *loc. cit.*, 139; J. Evans, *op. cit.*, 78 n. 3 and H. DeWarren," Le monachisme à l'apparition de saint Bernard," *loc. cit.*, 52 f. and 56.

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[39] Regularis Concordia. The Monastic Agreement, trans. Thomas Symons (London: Nelson & Sons, 1953). See also U. Berlière, "L'étude des réformes monastiques," loc. cit., 139.

[40] "Les coutumiers monastiques," loc. cit., 23(1906), 262.

[41] Ibid., 261f.

These developments were, in a way, the result of a more intensive study of the Church Fathers, among them Augustin, Jerome, Ambrose, Hilary, Boethius, Cassiodorus, Isidore and, to a lesser degree, Leo the Great. Popular were also the works of more recent authors. Bede was read all over and had no serious rivals in Hrabanus Maurus, Alcuin,

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[42] U. Berlière, "Les origines de l'Ordre de Cîteaux," *loc. cit.*, 453; *idem*, "L'étude des réformes monastiques," *loc. cit.*, 139; O. Ducourneau, *op. cit.*, 15; B. Bligny, "L'Eglise et les ordres religieux," *loc. cit.*, 249f.

[43] U. Berlière, "Les coutumiers monastiques," *loc. cit.*, 262 and 266. See also J. Evans, *op. cit.*, 78 n. 3.

[44] U. Berlière, "Les origines de l'Ordre de Cîteaux," *loc. cit.*, 453.

Paschasius Radbertus, Florus, Hincmar and Haymo. To the list came, later on, Peter Damian, Ivo of Chartres and Anselm of Canterbury.[45] But, what was most important, "everybody read Cassian at this time" (E. Delaruelle).[46] And deGellinck further explained,

> It is above all Cassian who merits our attention, for, the unfavorable verdict of pseudo-Gelasius not withstanding, he found his way into every library after the ninth and the tenth centuries...This diffusion reveals at the same time the extensive and deep influence he had on ascetical training during the entire Middle Ages.[47]

His Conferences certainly had their influence on eremitic revival in the eleventh century, a subject to be discussed later in this chapter.[48] Finally, mention must also be made of Origen, for after the ninth century the Origen text became more numerous, and from the eleventh century a great number of evangeliaries, Latin apocryphal sermons and other texts attributed to Origen are still extant. Origen, it seems, was read not only privately, but also in public worship, i.e. as part of the official liturgy.[49]

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[45] Idem, L'ascèse bénédictine, 109f.

[46] L'eremitismo in occidente, 187. On contemporary Cassian manuscripts, see CSEL vol. 17, xiiiiiff.

[47] See above, n. 44.

[48] U. Berlière, "L'étude des réformes monastiques," loc. cit., 154. Cf. G. Morin, "Rainaud l'Ermite," loc. cit., 103 n. 8.

But the spiritual writers of the eleventh century did not engage in a mere copying of the Fathers; they set out to systematize traditional teachings. They began by looking at Christian piety from a subjective point of view, where ratio claimed its rights from aucteritas, where the emphasis was on personal experience as a prerequisite of religious certitude. Already St. Augustine had declared the struggle for sanctity a personal affair between the soul and God, thus, so-to-speak, "interiorizing" God. But he did not pay as much attention to the person of Christ whose humanity remained somehow in the background. The great innovation of the eleventh century was that it developed a new attitude of the individual toward Christ. The aim was now to imitate Christ, especially the human Christ, subject to the Father, doing the will of the Father, humble and compassionate toward his brethren to the extent of accepting suffering and even death on the cross. Piety now became affective rather than speculative, which, it was felt, tended to take over all activities of the soul, and dry out the heart, after reaching a certain degree. The "affectives" had therefore little love for abstract ideas so dear to speculative minds. The motto was now, "make present the image of God,"[50] i.e. imitate Christ by an unconditional obedience to God, a love for all men and a life of penance, poverty and austerity.

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[49] Jean Leclercq, "Origène au XIIe siècle," Irénikon, 24(1951), 425 and 427f.

To this came the frequent reference to theoria in medieval hagiographical texts, a term familiar to Cassian[51] and which is best translated as "contemplation of heavenly things."[52] It implies the greatest possible abstinence from engagements demanding practical, pragmatic and laborious activities. This life has to be a life of constant mortification. It calls for a great amount of labor and struggle in order to repress the instincts of the body and purify the conscience and the soul through mortification. Contemplation, on the other hand, is the life of the soul: it is a life filled with the love of God, a life of delight in its fullness, because it is uninterrupted by death, a life which endows the individual with absolute goodness and leads to _theoria_, the abandonment of the soul to God. The outside world is nothing but a place of distractions; it has nothing to offer to the contemplative soul. This is why "theoretical" life must be cultivated and strengthened,[53] in line with Cassian's thought that it is more important to cure one's own ills than to be concerned with the troubles of others.[54]

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[50] "Christum portemus in ore, Christum portemus in corde, Christum portemus in manibus...Sic (enim) monet sanctus apostolus Paulus...Glorificate et portate Deum in corpore vestro. Quid est Deum portare? Imaginem Dei representare, Christum imitari. Hanc imaginem portat innocentia, portat justitia, hanc portat veritas, hanc portat castitas, hanc portat sobrietas, et omnis honestas." Ivo of Chartres, Sermo XI, PL 162, 576. See also Robert Folz, "Le problème des origines de Cîteaux," Mélanges Saint Bernard, XXIVe Congrès de l'Association Bourguignonne des Sociétés Savantes, VIIIe Centenaire de la mort de S. Bernard (Dijon: Association des Amis de Saint Bernard, 1954), 285; and Pierre Pourrat, La spiritualité chrétienne.II. Le Moyen Age (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1951), 19ff.

[51] "Videtis ergo principale bonum in theoria sola, id est in contemplatione divina dominum posuisse." Conlationes, I, 8. CSEL 13, 15.

[52] Louis Gougaud, Eremites et reclus. Etudes sur d'anciennes formes de vie religieuse (Moines et monastère, 5; Ligugé: Abbaye Saint-Martin, 1928), 34 n. 2. See also idem, "La Theoria dans la spiritualité médiévale," Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique, 3(1922), 381-391, and Jean Leclercq, Etude sur le vocabulaire monastique du moyen age (Studia Anselmiana, 48; Roma: Herder, 1961), 80ff.

The awareness that these ideals could not be realized in the world, inspired a vast _fuga mundi_ literature during the Middle Ages with calls, already during the eleventh century, for a contempt of the world. John of Fécamp

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[53] René Niderst, _Robert d'Arbrissel et les origines de l'Ordre de Fontévrault_ (Rodez: Imprimerie G. Subervie, 1952), 28 and 114 n. 15. In Celtic monachism we find this definition of _theoria_: "Tertium genus est anachoretarum qui jam coenobiali conversatione perfecti semetipsos includunt in cellulis procul a conspectu hominum remotis, nemini ad se praebentes accessum sed in sola contemplatione theorica viventes perseverant." _Ibid_., 120 n. 71.

[54] "Multis modis praeclarior virtus sublimiorque profectus est animae propriae curare languores quam corporis alieni." _Conlationes_ XV, 8. CSEL 13, 434.

(d. 1078),[55] for instance, referred to man's earthly existence as "this worst life" and "this most unhappy life."[56] He was against the enjoyment of transitory and constantly changing things, for friendship of this world implies hostility to God and the all-good other life. His pessimistic and negative view of earthly things--they are worthless, because transitory--caused him to reject all earthly goods and profane realities and opt for a purely contemplative life based on a deep and fervent love of God.[57]

Similar sentiments animated the invalid monk, Herman of Reichenau (d. 1054),[58] as can be gathered from his poem De contemptu mundi, addressed to nuns. His words, "I have such a contempt for this world and all its treasures and this mortal life...that all the transitory things seem completely nil and empty...I am disgusted to live"[59] reveal a very somber view of man's earthly life. This life, which is nothing but suffering, sadness, unfulfillment and an animal-like existence, is filled with evil and vices, such as worries, sadness, boredom, illness, fear, pain, care for the worthless and the seeking of putrid and fetid carnal pleasures--the worst of all pleasures. A world of such vanity and misery does not deserve to be loved. It must be given up completely for the life which leads to heaven or, rather, is, already on earth, the beginning of heaven.[60]

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[55] A brief account of John of Fécamp's life is found in Robert Bultot, La doctrine du mépris du monde. IV Le XIe siècle 2. Jean Fécamp, Hermann Contract, Roger de Caen, Anselm de Canterbury (Christianisme et valeurs humaines; Louvain: Editions Nauwelaerts, 1964), 11.

[56] "Haec pessima vita," "ista infelicissima vita." Ibid., 22.

[57] Ibid., 12 and 22. On John of Fécamp see also Gerard Sitwell, Spiritual Writers of the Middle Ages (Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Catholicism, 40; New York: Hawthorn Books, 1961), 25-32.

[58] R. Bultot, op. cit., IV-2, 24f.

[59] "Tanto mihi hic praesens mundus cum suis omnibus et ipsa haec vita mortalis contemptui et tedio est, et e

Roger of Caen (d. about 1095), who spent most of his life in the monastery of Bec,[61] is the author of another Carmen de contemptu mundi.[62] In his view, the qualities of a true monk are a humble mind, contempt of the world, a chaste life and a holy sobriety. This contempt of the world is imperative, for earthly goods are worthless because they are temporary; the desire of earthly joys is the source of constant suffering; it can rob man of eternal life. Hence

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contrario tam ineffabili desiderio et dilectione futurus ille non transiturus mundus, et aeterna illa et inmortalis vita, ut quasi nichili et inane cuncta transitoria haec omnino reputentur et flocci pendantur a me. Taedet quidem me vivere." Ibid., 48 n. 52. Cf. Berthold of Reichenau, Annales, MGH, SS V, 268.

[60] Ibid., 28, 33, 45f.

[61] Ibid., 50.

[62] PL 158, 689. Cf. R. Bultot, op. cit., IV-2, 50.

the author's exhortation not to become a subject of the realm of sin, but to seek to rise above the things of the earth and to step on the narrow and strong road leading to heaven.[63]

This list would not be complete without St. Peter Damian (whose views will be discussed in the following chapter) and St. Anselm of Canterbury (d. 1109),[64] who had equally strong views on the subject of world-weariness. According to Anselm, God possesses, in an eminent way, all the goods that can be desired; hence it is vanity to seek earthly goods which are, more often than not, occasions of sin, leading to the loss of God. Man's present condition is really an exile, and the life of the layman a river of mud. One must therefore give up the idolatrous desire, worship and possession of earthly goods and instead embrace the monastic life. Anselm seems to equate Christian life with the monastic vocation, which takes precedence over other forms of serving God, because it involves total dedication.[65]

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[63] "Mens humilis, mundi contemptus, vita pudica, Sanctaque sobrietas, haec faciunt monachum." PL 158, 689. "Gaudia perpetuos pariunt mundana dolores, Tollit et aeternum vivere vita brevis." *Ibid*., 691. "Noli te regno peccati subdere, noli, Quae citius fugiunt, ista caduca sequi. Sed satagas humiles transcendere terras, Arctumque ad caelos arripe fortis iter." *Ibid*., 703. Cf. R. Bultot, *op. cit*., IV-2, 54, 68, 70f.

[64] R. Bultot, *op. cit*., IV-2, 73 n. 3.

[65] *Ibid*., 139f. On Peter Damian see Robert Bultot, *La doctrine du mépris du monde. IV Le XIe siècle 1. Pierre Damian.* (Christianisme et valeurs humaines; Louvain: Editions Nauwelaerts, 1963).

What has brought on such sentiments, the "crisis of cenobitism" in the eleventh century, was to a great extent a crisis of prosperity. This gave rise to satirical writings on the subject and sounded the battle-cry for the restoration of genuine and effective poverty.[66]

Poverty has a long history;[67] even in pre-Christian times it has been the ideal of every religious reformer and has also had its champions from the time of the early Church to the present. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that by the middle of the eleventh century spiritual writers, discerning people, and even the broad masses began to detect a difference between the Christian ideal of poverty and the example given by wordly priests and monks. As a result of donations or the wise administration of abbots, monasteries and their inmates had become rich. This bred a certain neo-paganism in monasteries and led to a relaxation of discipline, and to extravagance in constructions and equipment. Abbots spent much of their time litigating in courts, to recover possessions lost during the tenth century, or engaged in

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[66] More on this has been said in the preceding chapter. See also J. Leclercq, "La crise du monachisme," loc. cit., 24f.; J. Leclercq and J. Bonnes, Un maître de la vie spirituelle, 184-197 and 218-220.

[67] A good survey is found in Bernard Bligny, "Les premiers Chartreux et la Pauvreté," Le Moyen Age, 22(1951), 28-35.

banking practices, often, because of miscalculations, with disastrous results. In the view of their contemporaries, it was this lack of poverty which accounted for the monks' cupidity, their dislike for things spiritual, the venality in the administration of the sacraments, and the abuses stemming from secular involvements. In the face of such decline, a large segment of the population rose to denounce ecclesiastical and monastic wealth, and the monks' interference in the affairs of the world. Recalling that the Church is really a community of saints, it produced heroic souls who set out to cultivate the ideal of poverty by returning to the sources: the simplicity of the patriarchs, the tradition of the Gospels (with regard to the poor Christ), and the practices of the primitive Church.[68] As Raynald the Hermit put it, "The form of the primitive Church is nothing else than the life of the apostles and disciples of Christ inspired by the evangelical counsels."[69]

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[68] Jean Leclercq, et al., La spiritualité du Moyen Age (Histoire de la spiritualité chrétienne, 2; Paris: Aubier, 1961), 161; idem, "La crise du monachisme," loc. cit., 24f.; M. Dmitrewski, op. cit., 75f.; G. Schreiber, Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 211; B. Bligny, "Les premiers Chartreux," loc. cit., 27-31 and 35; E. Werner, Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen, 79 n. 412.

[69] "Primitivae ecclesiae formam nihil aliud esse quam apostolorum discipulorumque Christi vitam evangelicis praeceptionibus plene informatam." G. Morin, "Rainaud l'Ermite," loc. cit., 101.

This individualism which made salvation a strictly personal affair, and the growing perception of the evils caused by prosperity led to a great revival of eremitic monachism in the second half of the eleventh century. It grew out of the realization that monasteries no longer provided the atmosphere for contemplation and peace. They had become rich. Then there was the ritualism, the rigidity for the sake of unity, and the interminable laus perennis, i.e. endless round of offices. In addition, more and more monks had become priests; the result was that they began to incorporate parishes, to admit laymen to monastic services and to accept nominations to episcopal sees. Last but not least, the status of many a monastery had changed from that of an immunity into an aristocratic seigneurie, anchored in public law and with certain public functions and responsibilities. This led to the widespread belief that the developments just listed were inspired by the devil, that the Benedictine monk did not really leave the world, that a person was therefore justified to make his salvation a strictly personal affair by fleeing the world and men, and retiring to a solitary place where one could fight the devil solus cum solo and give himself over to undisturbed contemplation, in a life which alone offers effective safeguards against avarice and the love of earthly goods.[70]

The desert had always attracted men wounded by the world and its richess, by persons longing for a closer union with God. In the Christian era, eremitic monachism was, from the beginning, a legitimate form of asceticism. It is sufficient to recall men like Rufinus, Palladius, Cassian, Theodoret, the authors of the Verba Seniorum and Apophtegmata Patrum, Gregory of Tours and Gregory the Great, to prove the point. Important for our purposes is to note here that with its Byzantine contacts, Italy had been a land of hermits, housing Basilian monks and anchorites in Calabria, as early as the fifth and sixth centuries. Though it did not become a part of the Benedictine formula, eremitism stayed alive even after the victory of the Cassinese code. It grew especially strong during the tenth century when, in view of the social and clerical decadence of northern Italy, preachers of penance and solitary life--men like Nilus, Romuald, Simeon, Dominic of Foligno, Venerius, etc.--began to appear in public. They recalled the spiritual legacy of the East and urged their audience to embrace a solitary penitential life. From Italy, the movement spread all over western Europe, undoubtedly because conditions had been favorable for its reception--one has only to recall the revival of commerce and the changes that had occurred in the social structure of society--because eremitism had a universal appeal, and because contacts with Italy (pilgrimages, etc.) continued undisturbed. In consequence, the West turned once more to the works of the fourth-century Fathers, especially Cassian and the Vitae Patrum, studied the life of Moses, Elias and John the Baptist with renewed interest and restored the cult of the ancient hermits, particularly that of St. Anthony of the Desert. This was not done for the purpose of intellectually enriching the soul; it was the outcome of the then prevalent conviction that since contact with the world was dangerous and the "secure" existence provided by monasteries wholly unsatisfactory, both must be definitely avoided.[71]

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[70] B. Bligny, "L'Eglise et les ordres religieux," loc. cit., 239, 246-251; G. Morin, "Rainaud l'Ermite," loc. cit., 101; idem, "Un traité inédit de S. Guillaume Firmat," loc. cit., 249; G. Schreiber, Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 211; J. Leclercq and J. Bonnes, op. cit., 22f.; J. Leclercq, "La crise du monachisme," loc. cit., 25f. idem, La spiritualité du Moyen Age, 161; L'eremitismo in occidente, 239 and 241. Cf. also Louis Gougaud, "Essai de bibliographie érémitique," Revue Bénédictine, 45(1933), 281-291.

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[71] B. Bligny, "L'Eglise et les ordres religieux," loc. cit., 251f.; idem, "Les premiers Chartreux," loc. cit., 35; J. Leclercq, "La crise du monachisme," loc. cit., 25 and 28; E. Sackur, op. cit., I, 323-325; D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, 192; Charles Dereine, "Odon de Tournai," loc. cit., 150 n. 48; "Hermits," CE VII(1911), 280; Louis Gougaud, "La vie érémitique au Moyen Age," Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique, 1(1920), 209-240 and 312-328; and L'eremitismo in occidente, 29f. and 41.

The movement also reached France and was especially strong in its western forestal regions during the last decade of the eleventh century. Here clerics and laymen, men and women, rich and poor, soldiers and peasants, lettered and unlettered persons embraced in great numbers a life of poverty and solitude. They acted out of religious motives, driven by a certain restlessness which was then "in the air" and by a genuine desire for perfection, since most of the leaders were intelligent and learned men, well versed in the Bible and acquainted with such authorities as Cassian, the Celts and Gregory the Great. Added to the above was the attractiveness of the idea of solitude; the fame and example of others, arousing the interest of like-minded souls; mystical considerations; reflexion; natural or acquired dispositions; the desire for a life of poverty, prayer and penance; the experience of failure; and the discovery of a model in hagiography.[72] Finally, there was the collective interaction of political, economic and social factors, i.e. public disorder, economic revival and population growth. In view of these, the movement to break away from feudal ties, to get away from abbeys so closely linked to feudalism, and join the desert where one could find the freedom not given by the contemporary feudal world gained momentum.[73] In spite of the latter factors, however, the trend toward eremitism was neither an exclusively lay movement, nor a movement of the poor, as has already been indicated. It had no social program and was not, therefore, revolutionary in nature.[74]

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[72] J. Leclercq, "La crise du monachisme," loc. cit., 29; idem, La spiritualité du Moyen Age, 163ff.; and R. Niderst, op. cit., 23.

The hermits established themselves in deserted villages, ruins of chapels, huts, caves or forests or in primitive makeshift constructions made of branches and leaves. Here they led a life of more solitude, more asceticism and more prayer. Thus they worked with their own hands, denied themselves the necessary food and clothing, chastized their body with scourgings and hair shirts and spent long hours in prayers, intensively cultivating the psalms. In addition, they liked to read the Bible, especially the Exodus, and were greatly devoted to John the Baptist and the Evangelist, St. James, St. Michael, and St. Mary Magdala. They procured their modest needs from their garden, their strip of land or forest, or apiary, or the products of such skills as weaving baskets. Accordingly, their diet consisted of bread, cereals, vegetables, milk and eggs. Their activities included field labor and artisanry (including the copying of manuscripts), and hospitality toward visitors and pilgrims. That hermits did not break off every human contact, is also seen from the fact that they instructed their confreres, went to the funeral of deceased hermits, practiced charity and hospitality, and formed friendships with other hermits or were friends of animals.[75] Eventually they also began an apostolate of itinerant preaching, usually on the request of a zealous bishop, chastising clerical abuses, attending church councils, and collecting alms.[76]

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[73] L'eremitismo in occidente, 53-65, 186 and 188f. See also R. Niderst, op. cit., 28f., and "De religiosis Calabriae, et vita et conversatione eorum," PL 204, 1013ff.

[74] L'eremitismo in occidente, 65 and 69.

In spite of great individual differences, the hermits had nevertheless a number of common characteristics: an instinctive horror of money and riches, and a corresponding desire to imitate Christ in his poverty. They sought an effective poverty, secured by such means as seclusion, rigorous fasts, prolonged prayer and manual labor. Accordingly, they wore "native colors," kept their hair unshorn, lived in unhealthy places and went on "pilgrimages for Christ,"--i.e. voluntary exile, often for life,--an idea so dear to Celtic monachism. Since the hermit was alone, i.e. outside the protections offered by the feudal order, his was a humble existence; it was poor, even in the liturgy, based on regular manual labor, and by no means safe,--really a life of penance.[77]

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[75] Ibid., 37-39, 65 and 188, 190-197 and 232-235.

[76] See below, n. 81.

As for organization, some hermits established themselves in the vicinity of cenobitic monasteries and remained under the abbot's jurisdiction. Others were independent solitaries, whether staying in one place or on a *peregrinatio*. Thirdly, there were also *laurae*, congregations of hermits, organized on the basis of either the (so-called) Augustinian or the Benedictine rule. Still other groups remained unorganized and simply sought to lead a life based on the Gospels.[78]

In some cases individual hermits drifted toward heresy,--the result of ignorance, excessive asceticism, or hypocrisy.[79]

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[77] *L'eremitismo in occidente*, 223f., 226f., 230; J. Leclercq, "La crise du monachisme," *loc. cit.*, 29.

[78] *Ibid.*, 32-34.

[79] G. Morin, "Rainaud l'Ermite," *loc. cit.*, 99, 102 and 115. Cf. Ivo of Chartres, *ep.* 256, PL 162, 261; J. Leclercq, "La crise du monachisme," *loc. cit.*, 29f.; Ernst Werner, *Pauperes Christi. Studien zu sozial-religiösen Bewegungen im Zeitalter des Reformpapsttums* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1956), 78; *L'eremitismo in occidente*, 198f., 239 and 241; Herbert Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1961), 13ff. and 40ff.

Most of them, however, retained their vigor and moved either toward cenobitism or were simply absorbed by the new eremitico-monastic foundations making their appearance later in the century.[80]

Closely connected with the rebirth of eremitism and the will to return to the sources, to be witnesses of authentic Christianity, was the emergence of itinerant preachers, mostly from the ranks of the hermits, during the second half of the eleventh century. While there had been *pauperes Christi* from the monastic order since the ninth century, now this "apostolic" ideal found followers also among the clergy and the laity. Moved by the example of Christ, these aspirants to evangelical perfection gave up all material goods, in favor of a life of austerity and seclusion in forestal hermitages. Coming from different social strata, they did not adopt the counsels of the Fathers to the letter, but followed them instead according to their own interpretation. With the influx of people, to hear their exhortations and receive their counsel, they began a more systematic apostolate. They moved from place to place: preaching and caring for the sick, poor and needy. Considered intercessors with God and thought to be endowed with miraculous powers, they were extremely popular with the masses, and became their confessors, consolers and counsellors, attracting both clerics and laymen, among them entire families and women.[81]

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[80] *L'eremitismo in occidente*, 66. See also below, ch.VI.

Thus, in a reversal of existing social norms, they suddenly found themselves surrounded by spontaneously formed heterogeneous communities, anxious to become imitators of Christ and the apostles in public life. This phenomenon certainly had also non-religious motives, for in a number of cases the movement gave way to anti-ecclesiastical and anti-feudal tendencies, and led, on occasions, to neo-Manichaean excesses. On the whole, however, saints and new religious formations at the end of the eleventh century were able to channel the movement, as can be seen from the lives of St. Robert of Arbrissel and St. Bernard of Tiron.[82]

Worldly members of the episcopate were the first one to take note--a disapproving note--of the pauperes Christi movement. It did not take long, however, before the papacy perceived the possibilities offered by the movement, with the result that before the century was over it had become a direct ally of the papacy. The guiding spirit of the latter,

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[81] B. Bligny, "L'Eglise et les ordres religieux," loc. cit., 252, 254; M. Dmitrewski, op. cit., 75; E. Werner, Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen, 80, 82; idem, Pauperes Christi, 281 and Charles Dereine, "Les origines de Prémontré," RHE, 42(1947), 364.

[82] R. Folz, "Le problème des origines de Cîteaux," loc. cit., 285; J. Leclercq, "La crise du monachisme," loc. cit., 31. On Bernard of Tiron see PL 172, 1432, 1435 and 1438.

Hildebrand, advocated a return to the ideals of the primitive Church already in the Roman synod of 1059,[83] and as Pope he often used expressions like "poor Christ," "poor Redeemer," "poor in Christ," or "poor of Christ,"[84] in line with the spirit of the time and not in an attempt at demagoguery, as E. Werner would want his reader to believe when stating, "There can be no doubt that the Pope took up this slogan with demagogic intentions, in order to win the lower strata of the populace for his program of overcoming clerical incontinence and breaking the power of the dominant episcopate."[85]

Church renewal in the eleventh century bears the name of Gregory VII (Gregorian Reform),[86] even though it began before him and reached its culmination after his pontificate. Its aim, *libertas Ecclesiae*, freedom of the Church from external and internal enemies was first enunciated in Burgundy and Lorraine--more specifically, in the region of Liège--by men like Rathier, Wazo bishop of Liège, Frederick of Lorraine (the future Pope Stephen IX), Gerard of Cambrai and Cardinal Humbert, a former monk of Moyenmoutier. With his Adversus simoniacos (1058),[87] Humbert sounded the battle-cry against simony and clerican incontinence; he also endeavored to systematize the new ideas. The reform's success was ensured by the rapid growth the western world experienced following the abandonment of the preceding culture which was both uniform and primitive. To this came the eleventh-century man's talent for a better differentiation, his ability to be more alert in his reflexion, and such factors as the new (canon) law collections, the advance of scholasticism, state initiatives toward sovereignty, the emergence of the bourgeoisie and knighthood, the foundation of new religious orders, the shift to the subjective and personal element in Christian piety, the cult of the humanity of Christ, the impact of the newly emerging heresies as well as the fact that by the eleventh century the western world had become totally christianized. Hence the Gregorian Reform brought not only a relentless struggle against simony, clerical marriage and lay investiture, but also the endeavor to establish a united hierarchy under a papacy which had recovered its primacy. It involved the drawing of a precise line between the priestly and the lay element of the Church, with the clergy forming some sort of a supernational corporation strongly attached to Rome. And since this clergy was to disengage itself from the affairs of the world--in order to be holier and more spiritual--there was also the additional need of redefining the relationship between Church and state.[88]

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[83] J. Mabillon, *Annales*, IV, 686.

[84] "Sed cum pauper Jesu ille pius consolator..." *Reg*. V, 21, PL 148, 506; "pauper et pius noster Redemptor;" *Reg*. VI, 17, *ibid*., 526; "quid autem mirum si principes mundi et potentes saeculi nos pauperes Christi, pravitatibus illorum obviantes odiunt;" *Reg*. IX, 21, *ibid*., 622.

[85] *Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen*, 79. *Ibid.*, 80 Werner however admits that the papacy sought the help of Robert of Arbrissel and Bernard of Tiron in the reform of the clergy.

[86] Augustin Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne* (Paris: E. Champion, 1924-1937), 3 vols.

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[87] PL 143, 1007ff.

Gregory VII, who had the opportunity to get acquainted with the reform movement in Lorraine during his stay in Cologne, was keenly aware of its implications and worked for its success until his death in Salerno with untiring zeal. Anxious to free the Church from lay guardianship, as well as from secular evils and clerical vices, he set out to overcome the *Eigenkirche* system, to "de-laicize" the hierarchy, to repress unjustified lay interference in Church matters, to reform the clergy and to organize the laity into a truly Christian community. In this objective he was strongly influenced by Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, as can be seen from the frequency of the Augustinian terms of *pax*, *justitia* and *obedientia*, characterizing the kingdom of the *Rex Justus* in Gregory's letters, just as there are also the references to *discordia*, *superbia* and *inobedientia*, applied to the enemies of this kingdom.[89] To do justice to Gregory, one must see in this light his alliance with the Pataria and his support of monastic "agitation" in Suabia and Francia, his call on the laity to assist him in the eradication of clerical vices, and his attempt to go beyond the Cluniac program of freeing the Church from lay control, by working for the prevalence of the spiritual order over the temporal.[90] Such objectives were clearly a postulate of the contemporary state of affairs, presenting the Popes of the century--from 1073 to 1119 they all were monks--with the problem of harmonizing the medieval social order with the non-feudal tenets of Christianity, of coming to terms with a society where the militaristic element prevailed and a system of government which was based on the principle of the _seigneurie_ and the fief. Hence the papal endeavor to put the feudal regime in the service of the Christian ideal and with that into that of the Apostolic See.[91] In this they had powerful allies: old and new monastic congregations, an increasingly cooperative episcopate and truly remarkable papal legates in several countries.[92]

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[88] U. Berlière, "L'étude des réformes monastiques," *loc. cit.*, 137f. Cf. LTK IV, 1196-1199.

[89] James P. Whitney, *Hildebrandine Essays* (Cambridge: University Press, 1932), 76.

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[90] This must be said against E. Werner, _Pauperes Christi_, 200f. Cf. also LTK IV, 1200.

[91] B. Bligny, "L'Eglise et les ordres religieux," _loc. cit._, 465.

[92] To this may be added that the eleventh century was blessed with a number of famous men, such as Ivo of Chartres (d. 1115), Anselm of Laon (d. 1117), Roscelin (d. a. 1120), Baudry of Borgeuil (d. 1130), Lanfranc (d. 1089), Anselm of

A case in point was France, which had its outstanding champion of Gregorianism, Hugh of Lyons. Possibly related to the ducal family of Burgundy, Hugh was born before 1043, became subsequently a monk of Romans, chamberlain of the Archbishop of Lyons, and--with the assistance of Gregory VII--bishop of Die in 1073, and Archbishop of Lyons around 1082, an office he held until his death in 1106.[93] Gregory VII appointed him legate for (most of) France and Burgundy, an office Hugh administered--with some interruptions--also during subsequent pontificates.[94] An uncompromising reformer, more Gregorian than Gregory himself, he worked indefatigably and unselfishly on Church reform,[95] by deposing and

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Canterbury (d. 1109), Abelard (d. 1142), William of Champeaux (d. 1121), Hildebert of Lavardin (d. 1134), Geoffrey of Vendome (d. 1132), etc. Cf. R. Niderst, *op. cit.*, 8.

[93] A definitive biography of Hugh still needs to be written. Such an undertaking will have to consider, *inter alia*, Hugh's own writings in PL 157, 507ff.; Pope Gregory VII's letters to Hugh in PL 148, *passim*; Hugh of Flavigny's *Chronicon*, PL 154, *passim*; J. Mabillon, *Annales*, V, *passim*; the partial bibliographies in A. Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, II, 218 n. 1 and *idem*, *Le règne de Philippe Ier*, 358 n. 10; GCh IV, 100ff.; Theodor Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten in Frankreich vom Vertrage von Mersen (870) bis zum Schisma von 1130* (Berlin: Verlag Emil Ebering, 1935), *passim*; W. Luhe, *op. cit.*, *passim*; and the works of Hefele-Leclercq, Rony, A. Fliche, G. Tellenbach, J. Whitney, W. Schwarz listed in the bibliography of this work.

[94] PL 148, 539.

[95] On Hugh's personality see especially W. Lühe, *op. cit.*, 89, 119-128 and A. Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, II, 65, 223ff., 232, 423 and III, 196, 205ff.

excommunicating simoniac, unchaste, insubordinate and uncanonically elected bishops and abbots, installing worthy replacements, summoning a great number of Church councils, repressing the power of the metropolitans, condemning the king's shameful conduct, fighting lay investiture, attacking lay rule of the lower churches, visiting dioceses, issueing reform decrees, proceeding against married clerics, depriving ecclesiastics from the exercise of their priestly faculties, denouncing--if necessary--cases to Rome, attending Roman synods, settling controversies, and the like.[96]

Hugh, the former monk who had such (monk) friends as Anselm of Canterbury, Anselm of Lucca, Ivo of Chartres, Hugh of Cluny, Hugh of Grenoble, Richard of St. Victor's in Marseille, Jarento of Dijon, Godfrey of Vendôme, Robert of Molesme and Bruno, the founder of the Carthusians, turned with equal dedication to the reform of the monastic order. In his predilection for monks, he was at all times an enthusiast of monastic order and discipline and saw in monastic life the highest ideal of the secular clergy. Always helpful and generous toward monasteries, he encouraged the laity to do likewise by making donations, settled disputes between monasteries or monasteries and laymen, raised monastic standards by fighting contemporary evils, favored the appointment of bishops from the monastic order, appointed monks to important offices in the Church and supported the new monastic reform movements--among them Cîteaux--in a special way.[97]

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[96] Cf. PL 148, 343f., 476ff., 505f., 508, 563, 603f., 634f., 790; PL 154, 278; RHF XIV, 767, 778ff.; MGH, SS V, 438; J. Mabillon, *Annales*, V, 30, 87, 96, 101, 108f., 118, 136, 138, 140, 142, 146, 148, 162, 164, 166, 172ff., 239, 281, 311f., 359; T. Schieffer, *op. cit*., 88f., 106; W. Lühe, *op. cit*., 11, 39ff., 53, 55, 60, 62f., 78ff., 129, 136; A. Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, II, 179, 186, 210f., 216, 218ff., 226f., 252, 265ff.; III, 19, 195, 350; *idem*, *Le règne de Philippe Ier*, 355ff., 359ff., 363ff.; A. Fliche, V. Martin, *op. cit*., VIII, 91ff., 261; Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit*., V-1, 217; G. Schreiber, *Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters*, 303; A. Rony, *op. cit*., 5ff.; R. Holtzmann, *op. cit*., 141.

Monastic reform figured also in another sphere of the Gregorian Reform: in the writings of contemporary canonists. Thus Burchard of Worms (d. 1025) stressed that monks owe obedience to the local ordinary, for monasteries--once a monastery, they are forever a monastery--are under the bishop's jurisdiction. The latter's permission is therefore needed for the making of new monastic settlements, or the transfer of an existing monastery to a more suitable place. He must see to the correction of possible abuses during his regular visits each year. With his permission an abbot may resign his office; but the latter cannot arrange that one of his relatives or friends take over as his successor, for the right of election is with the community. An abbot cannot be the superior of more than one monastery; and if he is lacking in caution, humility, chastity, sobriety, clemency, and discretion, or negligent--in both words and example--in the observance of the laws of God, he will be relieved of his office by the local bishop and the neighboring abbots, even if the community should wish to retain him. Abbots were also told to let no woman enter the monastery and to tolerate no earthy conversation in their presence. Instead, they are bidden to help the poor and the needy and to do everything in honor of God. Monks, on the other hand, are called upon to abstain from such priestly functions as preaching and hearing confessions, from taking oaths and accepting sponsorships. Then there are additional warnings against disobedience, unchastity, conspiratorial tendencies, thievery, unauthorized leaves and vagrancy, and such worldly actions as secular pleasures, litigations, cheating, gluttony and ebriety, hunting, carnal concupiscence, vanity, unfairness, and the like.[98]

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[97] PL 157, 515 and 525; GCh IV, 106, 108f.; ibid. XIII, 1191; and XVI, Instr. 12; RHF XIII, 630; J. Mabillon, Annales, V, 119, 359, 367f., 428; T. Schieffer, op. cit., 162; W. Lühe, op. cit., 12f., 15, 94, 130; A. Fliche, Le règne de Philippe Ier, 363, 376ff.

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[98] Burchardi Wormaciensis Ecclesiae episcopi Decretorum Libri Viginti; PL 140, 649, 651, 676f., 724, 793f., 796f., 804-812, 854, 871, 925-927, 1010. It may be of interest to quote VIII, 90 in full: "Ministri autem altaris Domini, vel monachi, nobis placuit, ut a negotiis saecularibus omnino abstineant. Multa sunt ergo negotia saecularia, de his tamen pauca perstringamus, ad quae pertinet omnis libido, non solum immunditia carnis sed etiam omnis carnalis concupiscentia. Quidquid plus justo appetit homo, turpe lucrum est; munera injusta accipere vel etiam dare pro aliquo saeculari conquaestu,

The author of another Collectio canonum, Anselm of Lucca (d. 1086), a former monk and stalwart of the Gregorian Reform, also made references to monastic life. As he saw the law, monasteries could be founded only with the bishop's permission, and since they are sacred places, they cannot be transferred to other places or become secular hostels. Once they are established, no one can raise claims contrary to the wishes of the founders. Aspirants to monastic life must be carefully tested, and for a considerable length of time, before admission to the community. In general, a person becomes a monk as a result of parental offering, or by taking the vows of his own accord. Clerics, though they precede monks, cannot be monastic superiors, unless they become monks. As a rule, only those should be elected abbots who show themselves worthy of such office, by acts and example. Monks are enjoined to avoid contentions; they must be prevented from

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pretio aliquem conducere, contentiones, et lites, et rixas amare, in placitis saecularibus disputare, excepta defensione orphanorum et viduarum, conductores aut procuratores esse saecularium rerum, turpis verbi vel facti jocularem esse, vel jocum saecularem diligere, aleas amare, ornamentum inconveniens proposito suo quaerere, in deliciis vivere velle, gulam et ebrietatem sequi, pondera injusta vel mensuras habere, negotium injustum exercere. Nec tamen justum negotium est contradicendum propter necessitates diversas, quia legimus sanctos apostolos negotiasse, et in regula S. Benedicti praecipitur praevidere per quorum manus negotium monasterii transeat. Canes et aves sequi ad venandum, et in omnibus quibuslibet causis superfluum esse. Ecce talia et his similia ministris altaris Domini necnon et monachis omnino contradicimus. De quibus dicit apostolus: Nemo militans Deo implicat se negotiis saecularibus."

arbitrarily expelling their abbot and electing a new one in his stead. They should not administer the sacrament of baptism in their monastery, but are allowed to offer Masses for deceased laymen and to bury the latter on monastic grounds.[99]

The outstanding canonist of the period, Ivo of Chartres (d. 1115), also repeats the principle: Since monasteries--which cannot be alienated--are under the bishop's jurisdiction, monks must obey the latter who has to visit them regularly and make sure that their houses are not infected by the spirit of worldliness. Children under age cannot be compelled to become monks against their will and all who wish to join the community must be tested before admission. Monks, though theirs is a special vocation given only to a few, must not become proud on this account. They should have no possessions, nor be guilty of avarice and rapine, vagrancy, desertion and return to the world. They should work regularly and stay away from worldly business, including the practice of law and medicine. Even though they may be ordained to the priesthood if they are worthy, they should not be sponsors, administer baptism in their churches, celebrate Mass for the public or hear the confession of laymen. In line with Alexander II's reminder to the clergy and the people of Florence, monks, no matter how religious they are, must stay within their cloister, as prescribed by St. Benedict and completely abstain from public preaching. Monasteries may not be alienated; individuals may leave them for another house only if a stricter life is sought.[100]

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[99] The critical edition of Anselm's collection was produced by Friedrich Thaner, Anselmi episcopi Lucensis collectio canonum una cum collatione minore. Iussu Institutis Savigniaci, Fasc. 1 (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1906), Cf. RHE, (1908), 563-566. See also Sancti Anselmi episcopi Lucensis Collectio Canonica in libros XIII distributa; PL 149, 499, 502-504, 516-518.

The Gregorian Reform was also instrumental in the emergence of the so-called "canons regular," during the second half of the eleventh century. Canons were originally priests following a certain rule in line with the Acts of the Apostles (2:44f.) or engaged in a specific service (cathedral, school, etc.) under the eyes of their bishop, as in the case of Eusebius of Vercelli, Ambrose of Milan, Augustine of Hippo, and Martin of Tours. St. Chrodegang of Metz (d. 766) composed his *Regula vitae communis* for them in 763. This rule, basically an adaptation of the Benedictine Rule with greatly relaxed provisions on poverty, was subsequently expanded by the councils of Aachen (789), Mainz (813) and, again, Aachen (816), the last of which drew up a rule of 147 articles. In spite of these efforts, Chrodegang's rule was short-lived, mostly on account of the laxity, avarice and covetousness prevalent in the houses of canons from the ninth to the eleventh century. Thus efforts to impose the canonical rule on the clergy of the cathedral and collegiate churches failed.[101] The remedy came with the Lateran council of 1059, during which Hildebrand made an impassionate plea to priests willing to fight decadence and to have a share in Church renewal by following the traditions of the early Church. The result was the council's decision that priests should live like monks, i.e. besides keeping chastity, they should lead a common life, with a common refectory and common sleeping quarters. Thus was issued the birth certificate of what was to become the new order of canons. The result was that in Rome and in regions dependent on it, clerics disgusted with contemporary worldliness, set out to lead a common life based on the "apostolic life" of the first Christian community, in accordance with the counsels of the Fathers.[102] Four years later, in

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[100] *Ivonis Carnotensis episcopi Decretum*; PL 161, 81, 91, 202-205, 262, 456, 491, 519, 543-545, 548-556, 564, 567f., 571f., 581f., 653f., and 892. Cf. also *idem*, *Panormia*, *ibid*., 1341f.

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[101] Charles Dereine, "Vie commune, règle de St. Augustin et les chanoines au XIe siècle," loc. cit., 365-406; idem, "L'élaboration du Statut canonique des Chanoines réguliers spécialement sous Urbain II," ibid., 46(1951), 534-565; idem, "Chanoines," DHGE, XII(1953), 287-298; John C. Dickinson, The Origin of the Austin Canons and Their Introduction into England (London: S.P.C.K., 1950), passim; U. Berlière, "Les origins de l'Ordre de Cîteaux," loc. cit., 466; J. Leclercq, "La crise du monachisme," loc. cit., 25; L'eremitismo in occidente, 166; H. Grundmann, op. cit., 489 n. 4.

[102] "Praecipientes statuimus, ut hi praedictorum ordinum (i.e. sacerdotum, diaconorum, subdiaconorum) qui eidem praedecessori nostro obedientes castitatem servaverunt, juxta ecclesias quibus ordinati sunt, sicut oportet religiosos clericos, simul manducent et dormiant, & quidquid eis ab

1063, another council under Nicholas II reaffirmed the provisions of 1059, once more approving the introduction of common life in the houses of canons.[103]

It is very likely that only a few houses of canons had adopted full common life before 1063. As has been said, these were in Rome and certain adjoining regions. From there the reform spread--often in conjunction with the restoration of ancient monasteries or the establishment of hospitals and eremitic foundations--to Spain and eastern France and its adjacent territories, with little cohesion outside the rather loose tie of full common life. Meeting with favorable social conditions, they spread especially in France or, more specifically, in the extreme south of Provence, in Gascony, Lower Lorraine and northwestern France.[104]

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ecclesiis competit, communiter habeant. Et rogantes monemus ut ad apostolicam, scilicet communem vitam summopere pervenire studeant, quatenus perfectionem consecuti cum his qui centesimo ditantur, in coelesti patria mereantur adscribi." Mansi 19, 908. Cf. Charles Dereine, "La vita apostolica dans l'ordre canonical du IXe au XIe siècle," Revue Mabillon, 51(1961), 47-53; J. Mabillon, Annales IV, 686f.; J. Dickinson, op. cit., 26, 29, 36, 40f., 58; M. D. Chenu, "Moines, clercs, laics au carrefour de la vie évangelique (XIIe siècle)," RHE, 49(1954), 63; J. Leclercq, La spiritualité du Moyen Age, 173; Placid Lefèvre, "Prémontré, ses origines, sa primitive liturgie, les rélations de son code législatif avec Citeaux et les chanoines du Saint-Sépulcre de Jerusalem," Analecta Praemonstratensia, 25(1949), 97.

[103] Mansi 19, 1025. Cf. J. Dickinson, op. cit., 33 and 43.

[104] J. Dickinson, op. cit., 42f., 46ff. 58; Ch. Dereine, "Vie commune," loc. cit., 393, 402; G. Schreiber, Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 304.

Toward the end of the eleventh century it became standard practice to group canons' houses into congregations, even though one could not yet speak of a full-grown order of canons. At this time, too, the canons became institutionalized, by setting up their rules and regulations. They adopted the newly discovered regula S. Augustini attributed to the Doctor of Hippo, who had led a "canonical life" with some of his priests. This rule, which abolished private property, is first mentioned in 1067, in a charter of Saint-Denis in Reims; thereafter it is frequently recurring in contemporary documents and liturgical texts. Championed by Gervasius of Reims, Ivo of Chartres and William of Champeaux, it was eventually approved "by the regularizing Pope Urban II," and, around 1115, declared authentic and to apply "literally."[105]

The canons had a regulated and ascetically virtuous life, spent partly in the celebration of the divine office and, in addition to this, in pastoral activities, the so-called cura animarum not inherent in the monastic vocation. And all this from the vantage point of the full vita communis which they considered synonymous with the vita apostolica, i.e. a life based on the authority of apostolic precedent and the lives of the Fathers. This, of course, meant the replacement of the mitigations of Aachen and a greater rapproachement with the Benedictine ideals. The canon led in many ways a life similar to that of the monk. His basic rule was "that he live in concord" and "that he neither say nor have anything of his own."[106] He renounced the world, lived in a community, in a regular house, where one could find all the elements of traditional asceticism--poverty in dwelling, vestment and food, modesty in manner, brotherly support, manual labor, etc.--even though great moderation prevailed in these practices, especially in the field of fasts and penances. But the canon also differed from the monk of his time, for he actively and purposely engaged in the cura animarum which involved preaching and other pastoral activities.[107]

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[105] Ch. Dereine, "Vie commune," loc. cit., 392, 401, 405; J. Dickinson, op. cit., 49, 57f.; J. Leclercq, "La crise du monachisme," loc. cit., 25; idem, La spiritualité du Moyen Age, 173; G. Schreiber, Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 304; idem, "Studien uber Anselm von Havelberg zur Geistesgeschichte des Hochmittelalters," Analecta Praemonstratensia, 18(1942), 70; P. Lefèvre, "Prémontré," loc. cit., 97.

Some canons, undoubtedly under the influence of Peter Damian, opted for a more heroic way of life. Following the example of the Desert Fathers, they withdrew to solitary places and gave up all feudal and ecclesiastical property, in order to lead a life of austerity, as a precaution against the dangers inherent in material wealth, and to live solely from the labor of their own hands. They were renowned for their scholarly culture and their great charity toward the poor and pilgrims. Hermit-canons like these appeared in the dioceses of Limoges, Clermont and Rodez already before the middle of the eleventh century; after 1070 they were practically everywhere.[108]

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[106] "Primum ut concorditer vivat...Non dicat nec habeat proprium." Jean Leclercq, "Documents pour l'histoire des chanoines réguliers," RHE, 44(1949), 567.

[107] J. Leclercq, La spiritualité du Moyen Age, 174f.; idem, "La crise du monachisme," loc. cit., 25f.; C. Dereine, "Vie commune," loc. cit., 401; J. Dickinson, op. cit., 26, 49, 52f., 58; G. Schreiber, Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 304; M. Chenu, "Moines, clercs, laics," loc. cit., 63.

The rise of the canons regular brought not only an improvement in priestly standards in a world of clerical decadence, and a strengthening of the diocesan body, but also affected the monastic order. The ideals of the *vita communis* could not but inspire zealous monks to emulate the life of the canons, in order to recover the primacy of the more perfect life inherent in their vocation. They joined the canon-led counteroffensive against secularism and against the evils of the *Eigenkirche* system, and wholeheartedly worked for the success of the ideals of common life, an endeavor which in some cases led to the emergence of new religious communities.[109]

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[108] J. Dickinson, *op. cit.*, 39; C. Dereine, "Les origines de Prémontré," *loc. cit.*, 361f.; *L'eremitismo in occidente*, 215.

Strange as it may sound, the forces of renewal were also strengthened by the emergence of various heresies during the eleventh century. Some of these had survived from antiquity; others were brought to the West by traders from the East. Thus, at the end of the tenth century, Gnostic and Manichaean doctrines re-appeared in the West, via Dalmatia and the Greek East. The result was that by the early eleventh century there were traces of neo-Manichaeanism in Italy, spreading from there to Spain, northern France and Germany, with a strong appeal on the newly emerging cities or the population gathered near markets. They did not appear as a well-rounded system of doctrine, nor were they mere theological speculations. According to Ilarino da Milano, their origin must be sought in purely religious inspirations.[110] Yet, the fact that clerics, teachers and nobles were among their protagonists admits the plausibility of other conclusions. Be this as it may, in view of the widespread evils of simony, Nicolaitism, worldliness and feudal encroachments, the adherents of the new doctrine, with their stress on piety, poverty and abnegation and their strictness about marriage, had made a strong case for themselves. They made headway because they found an ally in the rising movement which called for more spirituality and a greater religiosity.[111]

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[109] U. Berlière, "Les origines de l'Ordre de Cîteaux," loc. cit., 466; G. Schreiber, Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 304, 400; J. Dickinson, op. cit., 26-29; H. Grundmann, op. cit., 492.

[110] Ilarino de Milano, "Le eresie popolari del secolo XI nell' Europa occidentale," Studi Gregoriani, 2(1947), 88.

The new ideas took concrete forms in the West when in the year 1000 a peasant named Leuthard began to spread false doctrines,[112] and when somewhat later a number of persons in southern France denied the importance of baptism, rejected the crucifix, marriage and almsgiving and called for strict ascetical practices.[113] In 1022 advocates of Manichaeism in Orleans denied that God was triune, rejected the possibility of miracles, and held unconventional ideas on the origin of heaven and earth.[114] Next we hear of the Cathari, stirring up trouble at Monteforte near Turin, especially with their condemnation of private property.[115] Burgundy had its difficulties in 1030, when the sectarians incited the people to refuse payments to the bishop, denied the supernatural graces of the priesthood, condemned the veneration of the crucifix and images and rejected the sacraments of baptism, the Eucharist and penance, saying that in their view no sacrament had the power to obtain supernatural graces.[116]

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[111] B. Bligny, "Les premiers Chartreux," loc. cit., 31; H. Grundmann, op. cit., 476, 482; Ilarino da Milano, "Le eresie popolari," loc. cit., 79f., 88; E. Werner, Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen, 71, 76f., 88.

[112] Rodulfus Glaber, Hist. II, 11; PL 142, 643: "Exurgens (Leutardus) venit domum...dimittensque uxorem... fecit divortium...crucem et Salvatoris imaginem contrivit... decimas dare dicebat esse omnimodis superfluum et inane... dicebat prophetas ex parte narrasse utilia, ex parte non credenda." Cf. also H. Grundmann, op. cit., 477.

[113] E. Werner, Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen, 73.

[114] "Dicebant ergo deliramenta esse, quidquid in veteri ac novo canone certis signis ac prodigiis veteribusque testatoribus de trina unaque Deitate beata confirmat auctoritas. Coelum pariter ac terram, ut conspiciuntur, absque auctore initii semper extitisse asserebant....Epicureis erant hereticis similes, quoniam voluptatum flagitiis credebant, non recompensari ultionis vindictam. Omne Christianorum opus, pietatis duntaxat et justitiae, quod aestimatur pretium remunerationis aeternae,

At about the same time the disciples of Gandolf started to cause trouble at Arras. They stressed the need of absolute poverty and admitted in a council before bishop Gerard,

> Our law and discipline is this: To leave the world, to keep the body from the desires of the flesh, to make one's livelihood from the labor of his hands, to seek no one's injury, to show kindness to all of similar beliefs.[117]

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laborem superfluum judicabant esse." R. Glaber, Hist., III, 8; PL 142, 660. Cf. Mansi 19, 373ff.; RHF, X, 212, 224, 498, 607; Hefele-Leclercq, IV-2, 929 n. 2; H. Grundmann, op. cit., 477; E. Werner, Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen, 77.

[115] R. Glaber, Hist., IV, 2; PL 142, 672f. Cf. H. Grundmann, op. cit., 478 and M. Dmitrewski, op. cit., 85.

[116] "/Leutherius archiepiscopus/ si ad praesens dignum fuisset perfrui saeculum, nequaquam pullulasset nova haeresis Burgundionum, qui ut mihi innotuistis asserunt se rebelli mente nil debere suis episcopis." Odoranni opuscula, X; PL 142, 819. Cf. ibid., 823 and E. Werner, Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen, 74f.

[117] "Lex et disciplina nostra quam a Magistro accepimus, nec evangelicis decretis nec apostolicis sanctionibus contraire videbitur, si quis eam diligenter velit intueri. Haec namque hujusmodi est, mundum relinquere, carnem a

In addition they stressed that salvation can be worked out personally, i.e. independently of other helps, and sought to convey the idea that their doctrine was really a return to the religiosity of the early Christians. In their excessive zeal they rejected the contemporary practices concerning churches and altars, spoke out against the recitation of psalms and condemned the use of incense and bells.[118] Around 1040 the bishop of Chalons complained about "a certain rustic" who spread similar doctrines in his diocese, rejecting marriage, the veneration of the crucifix and images, the authority of the Church, the traditional interpretation of the Old Testament and the payment of ecclesiastical dues.[119] After 1050 the movement came to a sudden halt, even though the council of Toulouse (1056) still felt the need to issue

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concupiscentiis fraenare, de laboribus manuum suarum victum parare, nulli laesionem quaerere, charitatem cunctis quos zelus hujus nostri propositi teneat, exhibere. Servata igitur hac justitia, nullum opus esse baptismi." Mansi 19, 425. Cf. Gerardi I Cameracensis episcopi Acta synodi Atrebatensis; PL 142, 1272.

[118] PL 142, 1271-1312. Cf. Ilarino da Milano, "Le eresie popolari," loc. cit., 61ff.; Mansi 19, 423-460; Hefele-Leclercq, IV-2, 940ff.; M. Dmitrewski, op. cit., 85; E. Werner, Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen, 78f.

[119] "[Catalaunensium episcopus] aiebat in quadam parte dioecesis suae quosdam rusticos esse, qui perversum Manichaeorum dogma sectantes, furtiva sibi frequentarent conventicula." Vasonis Leodiensis episcopi Vita, XXIV; PL 142, 750. See also H. Grundmann, op. cit., 478 and E. Werner, Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen, 72 and 75.

a decree prohibiting contacts with heretics.[120] But it was only a temporary standstill, as the Pataria in Milan, with its protest against clerical richness and its demand for clerical rights showed.[121] This was also the time when Berengar of Tours (d. 1088) disseminated his errors on the Eucharist, seeing in the consecrated bread and wine no more than a sacrament representing the Body and Blood of Christ. He was condemned by the councils of Paris and Rome and, in later years, by the papal legate Hugh of Die.[122] Heterodox ideas began once more to thrive toward the end of the century, often as a by-product of the popular current in favor of apostolic poverty and itinerant preaching.[123]

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[120] "Cum haereticis & cum excommunicatis ullam participationem vel societatem habentem praecipue excommunicamus: nisi correctionis vel admonitionis causa, ut ad fidem redeant catholicam. Si autem adjuvantes eos defendere conati fuerint: vinculo simul excommunicationis cum eis subditi permaneant." Mansi 19, 849. Cf. PL 140, 714. See also H. Grundmann, op. cit., 483.

[121] B. Bligny, "Les premiers Chartreux," loc. cit., 34; L'eremitismo in occidente, 245. Cf. Mansi 19, 865f. and Hefele-Leclercq, IV-2, 1126ff., 1191ff., and 1253f.

[122] A. Fliche, Le règne du Philippe Ier, 517-526; Hefele-Leclercq, IV-2, 1040ff., 1056, 1061, 1063, 1118, 1169; Willi Schwarz, "Der Investiturstreit in Frankreich," Zeitschrift fur Kirchengeschichte, 42(1923), 303.

[123] H. Grundmann, op. cit., 483; B. Bligny, "Les premiers Chartreux," loc. cit., 33f.; A. Fliche, Le règne de Philippe Ier, 522--526; M. Dmitrewski, op. cit., 85. See also Charles Molinier, "L'Eglise et les sociétés cathares," Revue Historique, 94(1907), 233ff., and PL 182, 676.

Though varied in many ways, the new doctrines reveal nevertheless a number of common ascetico-moral traits. They demanded complete abstinence from meat and downgraded the sacrament of marriage. They opposed the veneration of the crucifix, rejected the sacraments of baptism, the Eucharist and penance, and believed that the latter involved too lax practices to obtain salvation. Moreover, the neo-Manichaeans--whether in Armenia or Aquitaine--all championed perfect poverty and the importance of manual labor. They believed that the Catholic Church had lost her raison d'ètre, because she had become wealthy. In addition to these anti-ecclesiastical tendencies, there was also a pronounced anti-feudal ingredient, a disregard for the feudal order in the new doctrines.[124] E. Werner even believes that the new ascetical ideals had a certain influence on St. Bernard of Clairvaux as well as others in later centuries.[125]

Concluding this chapter it will be sufficient to indicate that during the second half of the eleventh century the world outside the monastery was on the way of improvement. In the state, disorders gradually subsided and gave way to a corresponding strengthening of the national dynasties. This fact, as well as the new municipalities, laws, precedents and administrations offered a growing measure of order, protection and security, and enabled the monarchy to disentangle itself from the "indiscriminate anarchy of feudalism."[126]

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[124] H. Grundmann, op. cit., 479, 483; E. Werner, Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen, 78, 82; idem, Pauperes Christi, 203f.; B. Bligny, "Les premiers Chartreux," loc. cit., 34; M. Dmitrewski, op. cit., 85; C. Molinier, "L'Eglise et les sociétés cathares," loc. cit., 233f.

[125] Pauperes Christi, 201.

Alongside with this development went the purification of the Church from such contemporary evils as simony and Nicolaitism and her disengagement from feudal entanglements. The program began, logically, with the reform of the monks, undertaken first by Cluny, then, after the latter's incapacitation, by others--both individuals and groups. Their battle-cry was: Away from the (feudal) world, from the authoritarianism of archabbots, and back to the Rule and the traditions of the apostolic Church. They saw the remedy to existing abuses in a more ascetical, more simple and more spiritual life, made possible by the withdrawal into solitudes, something traditional monachism was no longer able to offer to ardent souls. Next came the reform of the secular clergy along monastic lines, as evidenced from the emergence of the canons regular.[127]

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[126] H. Taylor, op. cit., I, 306. Cf. J. Whitney, op. cit., 98.

[127] H. Taylor, op. cit., I, 306; G. Coulton, op. cit., I, 273f.; E. Werner, Pauperes Christi, 199f.; G. Morin, "Un traité inédit de S. Guillaume Firmat," loc. cit., 249.

The eleventh century is truly a landmark in the history of monasticism, as the events listed in this chapter prove. But more, still, was to be done. For this new forces, new approaches were needed and--as will appear from the next chapters--these were not slow in coming.

CHAPTER VI

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY: NEW RELIGIOUS ORDERS

Monastic revival in the eleventh century engendered not only attempts at amelioration within traditional monachism but also gave rise to new monastic foundations both in Italy and north of the Alps. In line with contemporary thinking, these foundations advocated a return to apostolic--rather than sixth-century--traditions, and stressed the need of poverty, simplicity and complete detachment from the world, but in ways different from accepted monastic standards. In the process, the one great body of traditional monachism was broken into a number of components, i.e. new institutions like Camaldoli, Fonte Avellana, Vallombrosa, Grandmont and the Grande Chartreuse, all indebted to Benedictinism, but also with a genius for new constitutional frameworks in which the Rule of St. Benedict served but as a point of departure.

The renewal in Italy began around the year 1000 and, given the influx of Eastern refugees, the presence of Greek monks in Calabria and the more intense study of the Desert Fathers, tended to move away from the traditional cenobitic way of life in direction of eremitic monachism.[1] Its greatest champion, St. Romuald of Ravenna, the founder of Camaldoli, and St. Peter Damian, the reformer of Fonte Avellana, will always be prominent in monastic history, not in the least for their role in the monastic revival which preceded the foundation of Cîteaux.

Romuald,[2] born around 952, joined the abbey of San Apollinare in Classe in his native city of Ravenna, to atone for a murder committed by his father Sergius. Unable to satisfy his inborn love of solitude and self-discipline in the abbey, he joined a hermit named Marinus, to lead the life of a wandering hermit in central and northern Italy for some four years. The desire to learn more about eremitic monachism took him next to the abbey St. Michael of Cuxa, whose abbot, Guarinus, a man of wisdom and experience, was well-acquainted with eastern monachism. Here Romuald built a hermitage for himself near the monastery, followed a life of ascetical rigors which included fasts, manual labor and agriculture, and deepened himself in the study of ancient monastic authors, especially Cassian, thus laying the foundations to an even greater love of eremitism.[3] Recalled, ten years later, to Italy to prevent his father from leaving the monastery, he began the career of a monastic reformer, fighting abuses in existing monasteries and establishing dozens of new hermitages and monasteries. The most famous of these, the Sacro Eremo of Camaldoli, was founded in 1012, after a vision in which Romuald saw white-robed monks, living in separate cells around an oratory built in honor of the Savior. This became the center of his reform. Romuald appointed the first prior of Camaldoli and then continued his reforming

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[1] David Knowles, From Pachomius to Ignatius. A Study in the Constitutional History of the Religious Orders (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 16ff.

[2] Romuald's biography, by Peter Damian, is found in PL 144, 955ff. See also Paul Kehr, Italia Pontificia (Berlin: Weidmann, 1908), III, 171ff.; L.E.D. Brockhoff, Die Kloster-Orden der heiligen katholischen Kirche (Frankfurt: Gustav Bender, 1875), 164ff.; Max Heimbucher, Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche (Paderborn: Max Schöningh, 1907), I, 401ff.; DDR I, 577ff.; P. Schmitz, op. cit., III, 15f.; The Book of Saints, A Dictionary of Servants of God Canonized by the Catholic Church: Extracted from the Roman and Other Martyrologies, Compiled by the Benedictine Monks of St. Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate (New York: The Macmillan Co.,

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1947), 516; Walter Franke, Romuald von Camaldoli und seine Reformtätigkeit zur Zeit Ottos III (Historische Studien, Heft 107; Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1913).

[3] "Marinus et Romualdus, non longe a monasterio degentes ad singularem vitam cui assueti fuerant revertuntur.. Tribus vero annis ipse et Joannes Grandenicus sarculis terram frangentes et triticum seminantes ex manuum suarum labore vixerunt...Librum de vita Patrum legens quod quidam fratres per continuam hebdomadam singulariter jejunantes Sabbatorum die pariter convenirent." PL 144, 961f. Reference is made to Palladius, Anthony and Athanasius. Ibid., n. 200. See also Bruno of Querfurt, Vita Quinque Fratrum, MGH, XV, 716ff.: "Hic...Romualdus primus nostrorum temporum non propria praesumtione sed secundum Collationes patrum heremitarum per pulchra sublima humilitate magna vivit et quae est recta via nos intruxit." Cf. W. Franke, op. cit., 108.

activities until his death at Val di Castro near Camerino, on June 19, 1027.

Romuald left no rule of his own; he gave his followers the Rule of St. Benedict as he had re-interpreted it, i.e. with additions and restrictions and no allowances for demands exposed by differences in geography and climate. His own example served as a commentary.[4] To elaborate: He purposely sought to displease men,[5] always wore one or more hair shirts, and never permitted his clothes to be washed, being content with having them soaked by rain. While others took their meager meals, he often fasted all day or returned tastier food. During Lent he contented himself with flour and herbs.[6] "When travelling on horseback with the brethren, he followed far behind them, always singing psalms, as if he were in his cell, and never ceasing to shed tears."[7] To his disciples he gave the advice,

> Sit in your cell, as in Paradise; leave all memory of the world behind you; watch your thoughts, as a good fisherman watches the fish. Salvation consists

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[4] M. Heimbucher, op. cit., I, 402; P. Schmitz, op. cit., III, 15; CB, III, 208.

[5] "Rommaldus...hoc mirabile in suis moribus habuit, quod displicere hominibus per studium querebat, tunc se magnum existimans," Brunoof Querfurt, op. cit., 717.

[6] PL 144, 996f. Cf. ibid., 964. See also S. Hilpisch, op. cit., 159f.

[7] PL 144, 986. Cf. H. Taylor, op. cit., I, 393.

> In the chanting of psalms; do not abandon it. Remain always, in fear and trembling, in the presence of God, like one who stands before the emperor. Destroy yourself completely and be like a child, content with the grace of God.[8]

Wherever he went, "his first concern was to construct an oratory in a cell and then secluding himself, sealed its door."[9] He spent, as a rule, the Lenten seasons in his cell, unless called outside by an emergency.[10] At Sytria he stayed in his cell for seven years, keeping unbroken silence.[11] He liked swamps as refuges. As Peter Damian reports,

> the venerable man dwelt for a while in a swamp (near Ferrara). At length the poisonous air and the stench of the marsh drove him out; and he emerged hairless, with his flesh puffed and swollen, not looking as it belonging to the human race; for he was as green as newt.[12]

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[8] Bruno of Querfurt, op. cit., 738. Cf. S. Hilpisch, Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums, 159.

[9] PL 144, 983. Cf. ibid., 970, 972, 976, 982 and 986.

[10] "Quadragesimali vero tempore, nisi necessitate inevitabili cogeretur, in cellula jugiter morabatur." PL 144, 1004.

[11] "In Sytria denique vir venerabilis per septem fere annos inclusus mansit et silentium continuum inviolabiliter tenuit." PL 144, 996.

[12] "Inclusus est etiam quodam tempore vir venerabilis in palude Commiaclensi (Commacchio), quae dicitur Origarum: unde postmodum prae nimio palustris coeni foetore et corrupto aere ita totus tumefactus et depilatus exiit, ut nequaquam eadem quae inclusa fuerat species videretur. Nam et caro ejus tota eatenus erat viridis, ut vix stellioni discolor appareret." PL 144, 972. Cf. H. Taylor, op. cit., I, 391.

Romuald's legacy reached his immediate successors in the form of extremely severe oral traditions. Around 1080 Blessed Rudolph, the fourth prior of Camaldoli, codified existing practices by putting them in writing. In view of the need for a lessening of Romuald's original severity he made additions and changes in matters like food, wine and silence, even though he retained the five-day fast as practiced before.[13]

Romuald founded Camaldoli with a handful of companions who lived in separate cells in a cluster around their chapel built on a steep mountain at an altitude of 1200 meters. To be true followers of the Desert Fathers, they observed the Rule of St. Benedict in its stricter interpretation and went, in some instances, even beyond its prescriptions. Thus they lived in primitive cells, observed constant silence, and led a life of absolute poverty. They deprived themselves of material necessities, went barefoot, neglected their outward appearance, shaved their head but kept long beards and wore cheap, hair-shirt-like tunics. Their diet consisted of bread and water; it was only on Sundays and Thursdays that they also took fruits and vegetables. During Advent and Lent they fasted on bread and water, except on Sundays, and some even volunteered for a third lenten season. In these seasons the majority remained in their cells; only those who lived next to the chapel went to say the divine office in common. Beside the latter, their prayer life called for a great many additional exercises, among them litanies, readings and two extra psalteries each day. Work usually meant the weaving of baskets and making of nets--not for the sake of material gains, but to avoid idleness--and, in summer, also field labor. They felt no need for scholarly studies. On Sundays they attended Mass and had, afterwards, their chapter of faults.[14]

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[13] In the lenten seasons they fasted five days a week, on bread, salt and water. A pittance was granted on Thursdays. Fish could also be eaten, and wine was served on the feasts of St. Andrew, Benedict, the Annunciation, Palm Sunday and Holy Thursday. During the rest of the year there were only three weekly fast days, but wine was given even on these. On feasts of twelve lessons the community ate in common. Cf. Joannes B. Mittarelli and Anselmus Costadini, Annales Camaldulenses ordinis sancti Benedicti quibus plura interseruntur tum ceteras Italico-monasticas res, tum historiam ecclesiasticam remque diplomaticam illustrantia (Venetiis: Aere Monasterii S. Michaelis de Muriano, 1755-1773), III, 512ff.; DCR, I, 589; M. Heimbucher, op. cit., I, 403; P. Schmitz, op. cit., III, 15; CE, III, 204 and 208.

Peter Damian left an account of life at Sytria near

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[14] PL 144, 993 and 963. See also J. Mittarelli and A. Costadini, op. cit., I, 80 and III, 512ff.; Lucas Holstenius and Marianus Brockie, Codex regularum quas sancti patres monachis et virginibus sanctimonialibus servandas praescripsere (Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1957-1958), II, 193ff.; DDR, I, 585f.; L. Brockhoff, op. cit., 164ff.; M. Heimbucher, op. cit., I, 402f.; P. Schmitz, op. cit., III, 15f.; S. Hilpisch, Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums, 162; CE, III, 208; and M. Dmitrewski, op. cit., 71 nn. 2-4.

Avellino where Romuald had spent seven years after the foundation of Camaldoli,

> Such was the mode of life at Sytria that not only in name but in fact it was another Nytria. The brethren went barefoot; unkempt and haggard; they were content with the barest necessaries. Some were shut in with doomed doors, seemingly as dead to the world as if in a tomb. Wine was unknown, even in extreme illness. Even the attendants of the monks and those who kept the cattle fasted and preserved silence. They made regulation among themselves, and laid penances for speaking.[15]

Pope Alexander II's approval of the nine existing settlements in 1072 may be considered the legitimation of Camaldoli as an order,[16] with a highly centralized government. Gregory VII took the new order under papal protection and decreed,

> that the said oratory, and its cells, should retain its vigor and stability at all times and in the manner it was begun at the outset...i.e. it should always remain on the path of eremitism and the lofty heights of contemplative life; nor may anyone set up

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[15] "Taliter autem in Sytria vivebatur ac si ex similitudine non solum nominis sed etiam operis altera denuo Nitria videretur, omnes siquidem nudis pedibus incedentes, omnes inculti, pallidi et nimia omnium rerum extremitate contenti. Nonulli vero damnatis januis clausi, ita mortui videbantur mundo, velut in sepulchro jam positi. Vinum ibi nemo noverat, nec si etiam gravissimam quisquis aegritudinem pateretur. Sed cur ego de monachis loquor, cum et ipse monachorum famuli, ipsi quoque custodes pecorum jejunarent, silentium tenerent, disciplinas inter se invicem facerent, et de quibuslibet verbis poenitentiam flagitarent?" PL 144, 1002. Cf. H. Taylor, op. cit., I, 395.

[16] PL 146, 1373f. Cf. M. Heimbucher, op.cit., I, 403 and CE, III, 204.

> an abbot or a coenobium in that place, for it must be devoted to solitary life.[17]

In 1113, Pope Paschal II confirmed Camaldoli as the motherhouse of the new order, formally separating it from the Black Benedictines.[18]

As can be seen, Romuald's monastic ideal was a life devoted exclusively to God: a life of prayer, solitude and eremitic asceticism. Such a life demands complete separation from human society, opposition to everything that tends to preserve the body and the world, rejection of all political (feudal) involvements, and hostility to culture. Accordingly Romuald preferred hermitages to monasteries. While St. Benedict admitted that his (cenobitic) Rule was only a directive for beginners--though he may have known that the majority of his monks was not likely to reach the next stage of monastic perfection--Romuald saw in eremitic life the goal of all, not just of a few chosen souls. Monasteries, he felt, are for the weak, for those who are still in the process of learning; they are means toward the end, i.e. training places for future hermits.[19]

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[17] PL 148, 645ff. Cf. D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, 194.

[18] P. Kehr, op. cit., III, 176f. Cf. P. Schmitz, op. cit., III, 15. According to H. Hélyot, "Since...the monasteries St. Romuald established before his withdrawal to Camaldoli did not wish to submit to the way of life he wanted to introduce; since they were satisfied with the following of the Rule of St. Benedict; since he has been ejected from some of these monasteries, unwilling to submit to the rules he wished to impose on them; and since he abandoned others that did not want him as abbot, we see St. Romuald before he founded a new order in 1012 only as a reformer and propagator of the Benedictine order." DGR, I, 585.

This thinking clearly shows eastern influences. Already at Ravenna, the New Byzantium of the century, Romuald had an admiration for the Desert Fathers. At Cuxa he studied the writings of Cassian and Cyril of Scythopolis. Through his disciples he came, subsequently, in contact with Greek monachism in Italy. These experiences eventually convinced him that there was a need to gather and organize dislocated western anchorites into hermit colonies in the vicinity of cenobitic monasteries, in order to put an end to existing irregularities caused, more often than not, by the uncurbed self-will of lone hermits living in isolation from each other. For his organizational framework he took the Rule of St. Benedict (which calls for community living under a rule and a superior), blended with the ideals of Cassian.[20] In some instances, as in the adoption of Greek confessional practices[21] and the employment of lay associates who took vows but did not become monks and remained ineligible to higher offices, he went even beyond the practices of Marseilles.[22] Moreover he retained, alone among other reformers, the institution of the recluse, whereby a hermit could retire--after a long preparation in the laura, and with the permission of the superior--to a cell and devote himself to more demanding spiritual and ascetical exercises. The recluse left his cell only on rare occasions, e.g. during the last three days of Holy Week, and spoke to no one except the superior and the lay brother who supplied him with his meager needs.[23]

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[19] W. Franke, op. cit., 150; S. Hilpisch, Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums, 161f.; P. Schmitz, op. cit., III, 15; J. Leclercq, "La crise du monachisme aux XIe et XIIe siècles," loc. cit., 27f. As in Romuald's life, this eremitic training was to lead to a charismatic apostolate. Cf. A. Louf, op. cit., 192f.

[20] W. Franke, op. cit., 113,121ff., 157, 159f., 164f., 175; E. Sackur, op. cit., I, 324 n. 2; P. Schmitz, op. cit., III, 14f.; G. Schreiber, Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 420;

D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, 193; A. Louf, op. cit., 193. Cf. A. Louf, 195, on the influence of Cyril of Scythopolis which "explains the typical Palestinian character of the Romualdian foundations."

[21] For details see W. Franke, op. cit., 165. Cf. also DTC III, 872ff.

[22] "Et ipsi monachorum famuli, ipsi quoque custodes pecorum jejunarent, silentium tenerent." PL 144, 1002. Cf. W. Franke, op. cit., 165 and 176. Ibid., 176ff. Franke offers proofs for the existence of conversi prior to their appearance in the reform of John Gualbert, who is traditionally credited with their introduction. See also E. Werner, Pauperes Christi, 107.

[23] DGR, I, 585 and 589f.; L. Brockhoff, op. cit., 166 and P. Schmitz, op. cit., III, 15f.

At Camaldoli, Romuald had also set up a hostel, Fontebuono, at the foot of the mountain, with one monk and three conversi in charge. In 1102 Fontebuono was transformed into a cenobitic establishment which followed the Rule of St. Benedict in its original strictness. It had no abbot, possibly because Romuald wished to imitate the Cluniac priory system. Its raison d'ètre was to provide for the material needs of the hermits and to serve as a place where the latter could retire in case of illness and old age. The cenobitic element however, attained no great importance at Camaldoli.[24]

Romuald became, as no one before him, the organizer of anachoretic life in the West. He had observed traditional monachism during his stay at Classe. Soon after, he became the champion of eremitic life and was able to formulate his ideal. He would have liked to convert the whole world into a single hermitage.[25] In line with this thinking, he reformed a great number of Benedictine monasteries and established, in most cases, hermitages around them, usually in swamps and forests. Prior to the foundation of Camaldoli this amounted to nearly one hundred monasteries and hermitages. Monks and hermits in these places had certain common bonds: they were under the same superior, the abbot, who lived in the hermitage but visited the cenobites on Sundays, and then there was the monastery's duty to care for the material needs of the hermits who spent little time outside their cells.[26]

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[24] DOR, I, 589 and 592. Cf. L. Brockhoff, op. cit., 166; M. Heimbucher, op. cit., I, 403 f.; P. Schmitz, op. cit., III, 16f.; W. Franke, op. cit., 150. According to A. Leuf, Fonte Buono never became a monastery of the common life; op. cit., 193. To this may be added the foundation of S. Prisca di Luca, near Mugello in Tuscany, for cenobitic Camaldolese nuns, by Blessed Rudolph, in 1086.

[25] "Putaretur totum mundum in eremum velle convertere et monachico ordini omnem populi multitudinem sociare." PL 144, 988. In this connection H. Taylor remarked, since in Romuald's view perfection is best achieved through withdrawal from the world, "the only consistent social function left to such a man is that of turning the steps of his fellows to his

Monastic reform was not, however, Romuald's only

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own recluse path of perfection." Op. cit., I, 396. Cf. also E. Sackur, op. cit., I, 328 n. 7; D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, 193 and S. Hilpisch, Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums, 159. Bruno of Querfurt deplored the idea of building monasteries in swamps. "Who is not sick--he wrote--from the oldest to the youngest? What can he do in a cell whose feet are so weak that he is unable to go to church on Sunday to receive communion? What does a man benefit from reading, what kind of a prayer is that, when one cannot lift his members from his bed?" Hence, in his view, it would be better to go to Poland than to perish in the swamp of Pereum. Op. cit., 720. S. Hilpisch, op. cit., 158.

[26] "Dum moraretur autem Romualdus adhuc in Pereo, imperator Otto monasterium ibi ad honorem S. Adelberti eo suggerente construxit...Abbate ergo illic ex Romualdi discipulis constituto et fratribus aggregatis coepit eos Romualdus sub magna tenere custodia, et docebat eos sub regulari vivere disciplina. Praecepit etiam abbati ut in eremum secedens per totam hebdomadam in cella consisteret, diebus vero Dominicis fratres ad monasterium veniens visitaret." PL 144, 981f. Cf. W. Franke, op. cit., 127ff.; P. Schmitz, op. cit., III, 15; CE, III, 204. During his career as a wandering reformer, Romuald stayed in numerous places, among them Classe, Pont-de-Pierre, Bagno, Pereum, Bifolco, Parenzo, Val di Castro, Camaldoli, the region of Orvieto, Sytria, etc. DOR, I, 581ff.

concern. Favered by emperors and princes,[27] he also fought abuses in the Church,[28] and on one occasion was almost strangled by a simoniac abbot.[29] Moreover he took an active interest in the christianization of eastern Europe, and sent missionaries to Poland and Russia. Illness alone prevented him from going to Hungary in persan.[30]

The revival of eremitic monachism in the contemporary western world is Romuald's lasting achievement. The success of his efforts lay in the fact that, with elements borrowed from cenobitic monachism, he had been able to devise a regular--if rudimentary--framework for the hitherto unorganized forms of western anachoretism, without doing violence to eremitic ideals. In the process he also effected a symbiosis of monastery and hermitage, an innovation to be imitated in subsequent times.[31]

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[27] PL 144, 973.975.981.1003. Romuald was also a contemporary of St. Nilus and a close friend of William of Dijon. Cf. W. Franke, op. cit., 158.

[28] "Inter caeteros autem praecipue saeculares clericos qui per pecuniam ordinati fuerant durissima severitate corripiebat et eos nisi ordinem sponte desererent, animo damnabiles et haereticos asserebat." PL 144, 986. See also S. Hilpisch, Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums, 159 and J. Mahn, op. cit., 28.

[29] PL 144, 991. Cf. also ibid., 992; H. Taylor, op. cit., I, 393f.; and S. Hilpisch, Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums, 158f.

[30] PL 144, 977ff., and 989.

The great reformer of Fonte Avellana, Peter Damian,[32] also a native of Ravenna, was born in 1007. After a childhood beset by hardships he attended schools of higher learning, first in his native city, then at Parma. In time he became a professor renowned for his learning and severe ascetical practices. Never happy in the world, he became a monk, eventually joining the community of Fonte Avellana, an abbey founded by a group of independent hermits following the Rule of St. Benedict.[33] After his entrance he developed an even greater love for bodily mortifications, in order to acquire an exclusive taste for matters spiritual. In time he became procurator, and in 1043 superior of the community. He always refused the title of abbot, calling himself *peccator monachus* instead.[34] In 1057 Pope Stephen IX named him cardinal archbishop of Ostia. As such he undertook a number of legations for the papacy, making meanwhile few changes in his private ascetical exercises. In 1067 Alexander II reluctantly granted him permission to retire to Fonte Avellana. Peter died of fever on his return from a legation to Ravenna on February 22, 1072.

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[31] W. Franke, op. cit., 127ff., and 150. Cf. ibid., 120, "The reform Romuald undertook in connection with the anachoretism of his time consists, in the final analysis, in the transfer of cenobitic organizational forms" upon the former. See also S. Hilpisch, Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums, 161; H. Taylor, op. cit., I, 395. W. Franke also pointed out that Romuald knew canon law and made his ordinances in accordance with it. Op. cit., 118f. Cf. PL 144, 986f. and 991. See also D. Knowles, From Pachomius to Ignatius, 18 and idem, The Monastic Order in England, 194.

[32] For Peter Damian's life, see PL 144, 113ff; Reginald Biron, St. Pierre Damian (1007-1072) (Paris: Victor Lecoffre, 1930), especially VIf.; Fridolin Dressler, Petrus Damiani Leben und Werk (Studia Anselmiana, fascisulus xxxiv; Roma: Herder, 1954); D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, 194 n. 1; J. Whitney, op. cit., 95f.; A. Fliche, La réforme grégorienne, I, 176ff.; S. Hilpisch, Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums, 163; The Book of Saints, 471; DGR, II, 298.

[33] R. Biron, op. cit., 11.

Peter Damian always knew the meaning of bodily mortification. Already in his childhood he was accustomed to humble circumstances and lowly work. He went barefoot and poorly clothed, tended swine and suffered many beatings from the members of his family. Later, as a well-known professor, he wore a hair shirt under his clothes, in addition to his numerous fasts, vigils and prolonged prayers. To fight temptations he once plunged into icy water. At Fonte Avellana he perfected his asceticism. He observed the rule in all its strictness, showed utter neglect for his body, rejected all that savored of softness and sought out the most arduous tasks avoided by others. He never drank wine, fasted on bread and water four days a week and was satisfied with vegetables on the remaining days. He liked to chastize his body by walking barefoot, and using light robes even in winter. He kept long vigils and spent many nights in prayer. Shocked by his imperfections, he frequently applied the discispline on himself, even as a cardinal. His unbounded eagerness for penances made such an impression on his confreres that they, well accustomed to rigors, looked at themselves in shame. After his return to Fonte Avellana in 1067 he continued his mortifications: he publicly confessed his sins, regularly disciplined himself, wore iron girdles, and ate from a bowl that was used for washing the feet of the poor.[35]

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[34] J. Leclercq, "La crise du monachisme," *loc. cit.*, 23.

This emulator of St. Romuald was also a man of great literary talents, as can be gathered from his teaching career. At Fonte Avellana he suffered painful headaches as a result of his rigorous self-discipline. In search of alleviation he turned to the study of Sacred Scripture and was soon asked to give conferences to his own as well as to neighboring communities.[36] He eventually turned to writing and left a literary output of some 50 sermons, 60 smaller works, 8 "books" of correspondence, hagiographies, poems and prayers. While on a conference tour, he wrote the life of St. Romuald.[37] His writings reveal such sources as Sacred Scripture, Palladius, Sulpicius Severus, the Collationes Patrum, the Instituta Patrum and the lives of saints Anthony, Paul and Hilarion.[38] Since more than half of his treatises are addressed to priests and monks, it is possible to gather Peter's ideas on monastic life with a measure of certainty.[39]

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[35] "Bonae indolis Christi miles tantis illico jejuniorum, vigiliarum caeterumque afflictionum laboribus se coepit atterere, ut ii qui diuturnis jam studiis exercitati fuerant, illius mores et vitam intuentes, sua cogerentur acta contemnere." PL 144, 122. Cf. *ibid.*, 137ff. See also A. Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, I, 177f. and 186; R. Biron, *op. cit.*, 12f.; F. Dressler, *op. cit.*, 58; S. Hilpisch, *Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums*, 164.

[36] PL 144, 123f.

Peter Damian always felt that monastic life was superior to life in the world. The latter was nothing but gluttony, avarice and pleasure-seeking to him. Its goods--fame, riches, beauty, and the like--are only apparent goods, for they are obstacles in the seeking of God.[40] This evaluation applied also to contemporary cenobitism in which worldliness in all its aspects was very much the order of the day.[41] Hence Peter's conviction that a true monk must admit his guilt, reject the "old man," leave the world and seek a haven among anchorites in the desert. For only a life of contemplation in the desert can establish a lasting union with God. In his view, "to the aspirant of perfection the monastery is neither a permanent mansion nor a temporary habitat; it is not the attainment of the intended goal, but the resting place of the journey."[42] The monastery is a noviciate: It provides the milk which precedes the more solid food of the hermit.[43] If someone want to stay in it permanently, it should be tolerated;[44] but the joiner of the desert deserves to be applauded for preferring "the strictnes of eremitic life to monastic laxity."[45] Accordingly Peter repreached a monk who left the desert to become the abbot of a (cenobitic) monastery[46] and urged another to return to the hermitage, in these words

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[37] PL vols. 144 and 145. For the works' authenticity, see Giovanni Lucchesi, Clavis S. Petri Damiani (Faenza: Seminario Vescovile, 1961).

[38] PL 144, 351.395.531.706.711 and PL 145, 351.377. 513f. and 619. In this connection it is of interest to list the works found in the library of Fonte Avellana, as recorded by Peter Damian: The Old Testament, the New Testament, the Acts of the Martyrs, homilies of the Fathers and commentaries of Gregory, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Prosper of Aquitaine, Bede, Remigius, Amalarius, Haimo and Paschasius. PL 145, 334.

[39] E. g. the following opuscula, 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 24, 25, 29, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 56, and 58. PL 145, 159.221.251.291.328.335.366.480.491.518.679. 696.703.710.715.721.731.748.763.807 and 831. Cf. F. Dressler, op. cit., 62; Mansueto Della Santa, Ricerche sull'idea monastica di San Pier Damiano (Studi e Testi Camaldulesi, no. 11; Camaldoli: Edizioni Camaldoli, 1961); A. Fliche, La réforme grégorienne, I, 193 and V. Hermans, op. cit., 121.

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[40] PL 145, 251ff. Cf. F. Dressler, op. cit., 57ff. and A. Fliche, La réforme grégorienne, I, 193.

[41] Peter Damian especially deplored that the coenobites of his day reverted to the life they promised to give up (PL 145, 253), that their piety had sunk very low and that they were quite negligent in the observance of their rules (PL 145, 291ff.). He found regular monasteries so corrupt that novices leaving them had more vices than when they entered (PL 145, 362). To these came such additional abuses as the love of money (PL 145, 253ff.), unnecessary travel (PL 145, 260f.), special treatment in the monastery (PL 145, 507), the combination of active and contemplative life, leading to the loss of both (PL 145, 277), the love of good clothes (PL 145, 267), excessive care of the body in the form of medication and extravagent food (PL 145, 726), vain conversation with laymen (PL 144, 422) and the love of secular learning (PL 145, 695). Cf. also PL 145, 455 and John J. Wang, Saint Peter Damian the Monk (New York: Fordham University Thesis, 1957), 146ff.

[42] "Ad perfectionis igitur summam tendenti monasterium dicitur esse non mansio, non habitatio, sed hospitium; non finis intentionis, sed quaedam quies itineris." PL 144, 393. Cf. PL 145, 246 and 339; F. Dressler, op. cit., 60; H. Taylor

> Return, dearest son, with all haste to the desert, lest while the monastery's "latitude" delights your adolescence, the restrictions of the desert become odious to you through oblivion caused by non-practice.[47]

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op. cit., I, 385; A. Fliche, La réforme grégorienne, I, 205 and P. Schmitz, op. cit., 405

[43] "Velut in convalle primae conversationis incipiat; deinde jam spiritualibus exercitiis roboratus, tanquam a lacte ad solidum cibum transiens, verticem perfectionis ascendat." PL 144, 394.

[44] "B. Benedictus...tolerabilius tamen ducit nos infirmos ac debiles in monasterii portu vel ignobiliter vivere quam in tempestuosa naufragi mundi voragine deperire. Fratres igitur in monasterio immobiliter permanentes tolerandi sunt; ad eremum vero fervido spiritu transmigrantes plausibus ac praeconiis efferendi." PL 144, 395. Cf. E. Dressler, op. cit., 43.

[45] "Non itaque ad monasterialem laxitudinem ab eremitica /via/ vos libeat districtione descendere." PL 144, 334.

[46] PL 144, 387ff.

[47] "Ad eremum ergo, charissime fili, sub omni celeritate revertere, ne dum monasterialem adolescentiam tuam latitudo delectat, eremi districtio per oblivionem desuetudinis quandoque, quod absit, et in odium veniat." PL 144, 405.

Similarly, when an abbot protested that one of his monks had joined the desert in violation of the Benedictine Rule, Peter Damian disagreed: He pointed to the first chapter of the Rule which acknowledges the existence of hermits and to St. Benedict's admission that his Rule was but a rule for beginners, i.e. a preparatory school for eremitic life.[48]

Separation from the world also required the end of vagrancy. Peter strongly condemned the wanderlust of contemporary monks which had greatly contributed to the crisis of cenobitism in his days. To him every itinerant monk is suspicious. Hence his advice to his followers,

> Whoever wishes to reach the summit of perfection should keep within the cloister of his seclusion, cherish spiritual leisure and shudder at traversing the world, as if he were about to plunge into a sea of blood. For the world is so filthy with vices that any hold mind is befouled even by thinking about it.[49]

Or, to put it more succintly, "Sit in your cell, control your tongue and your stomach, and you will be safe." This cell is a jail only to vagrants; to those who stay, it is a sweet cubicle.[50]

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[48] PL 144, 392ff. Cf. A. Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, I, 241.

[49] "Quisquis ergo monachus perfectionis culmen festinat attingere, intra remotioris suae se claustra cohibeat, spirituale otium deligat; discurrere vero per saeculum, velut mersare se in lacum sanguinis perhorrescat. Tot enim criminum magis ac magis in dies mundus contaminatione polluitur, ut quaelibet sancta mens sola ejus consideratione foedetur." PL 144, 287.

[50] "Sede in cella tua, et retine linguam tuam, et

Unlike Romuald, Peter Damian recorded the specifics of his reform, in De ordine eremitarum et facultatibus eremi Fontis Avellani[51] and, in a later work, De suae congregationis institutis.[52] As a general principle Peter states, "whatever is found in the Rule of St. Benedict or in the Institutes or Collations of the Fathers, is part of this discipline."[53] This means, whereas Romuald set out to regulate the life of anchorites, Peter Damian legislated for an already established community of hermits. He headed his monastery as its prior who was first among equals, the so-called seniores. The community itself included hermit monks who spent most of their time in cells "in contemplation, silence and fasting," conversi who took care of the more menial tasks and had a less rigorous prayer pensum, and, finally, novices. Detailed rules regulated the acceptance of the latter and they were

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ventrem, et salvus eris" (PL 145, 339). "Vagantibus cella carcer est, permanentibus suave cubiculum" (PL 145, 278). And what is more: "Tantopere quippe vagatio est vitanda, ut nec per ipsam cellulam spatiari inaniter liceat" (PL 145, 350). See also A. Fliche, La réforme grégorienne, I, 196f. This stability was not demanded in early eremitic history. Cf. F. Dressler, op. cit., 49.

[51] PL 145, 327ff.

[52] PL 145, 335ff.

[53] "Quidquid enim in B. Benedicti Regula, quidquid in institutis sive in collationibus Patrum est dictum, huic competere disciplinae perpendimus." PL 145, 351.

not immediately admitted to full eremitic life.[54]

Withdrawal into the desert implied that the tyro wished to engage in a direct fight with the devil on the battlefield of the spirit and determined to achieve victory. The hermit's life is hence the life of a soldier of Christ. As a fully trained soldier he is strong enough to hold his place alone, in the very first battle line. Faithful to his oath to the flag, he keeps his spiritual armor in readiness in order to be able to fight the devil, who is lurking in the dark to surprise the careless and the untrained. Constant vigilance in this struggle will eventually lead to peace, and labor will give way to rest and repose. The hermit must therefore be an enemy of the world, poor and naked, subdued by fasts and chastisements and filled with a holy ignorance.[55] For this reason the members of Fonte Avellana liked to call themselves "penitents," since, in their view, monastic life was a life of penance, impelling the monk to seek all that is arduous and difficult. Accordingly, the true monk goes barefoot, with unwashed feet, neglected hands and unkempt hair and constantly chastises his body, by means of repeated genuflections, long prayers with outstretched arms, and the use of the discipline. He spontaneously accepts destitution and the idea of spending a lifetime in austere cells of practicing perpetual silence and the spirit of obedience and keeping long prayer vigils.[56] To mortify the spirit, the hermits of Fonte Avellana rejected all intellectual work, excepting only the study of the psalms and spiritual reading, and were adamantly opposed to the cultivation of the new science of dialectics. Manual labor, though not mentioned among the observances of Fonte Avellana, was a regular feature of the schedule. Peter Damian alluded to it when stating that he took up writing as a substitute for it, because of ill health.[57] Strict silence--a precaution against distraction and sin--prevailed in all regular places and was broken only for confession or in case of an emergency. Even novices at the beginning of their training, could talk only once or twice a week, usually after Vespers.[58] As for monastic poverty, the reformer of Fonte Avellana boldly turned the Benedictine sufficientia into extremitas and penuria, in the belief that world-rejection can only be achieved through real poverty. For this reason he accepted only a minimum of possessions, i.e. as were needed for the support of the community. He insisted that personal poverty must be absolute, with no exceptions, for a small infection would eventually corrupt the whole organism. Hence the hermit takes nothing along when moving from one cell to another. Poverty also demands that the hermit's clothing be light, poor and undyed, even when he is called outside the hermitage, for good clothes are simply outrageous. His shoes and stockings are given to him, and they must last for a whole year. He sleeps on a hard bed, keeps bodily hygiene to a minimum, so as not to give a pleasant bodily appearance, and has his head shaven each month, except in Advent and Lent; then he was not even allowed to wash his head. Baths were allowed, as in the time of St. Benedict, only for the sick.[59]

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[54] F. Dressler, op. cit., 45 and 62.

[55] PL 144, 554 and 919. PL 145, 338. Cf. also F. Dressler, op. cit., 49f.; A. Fliche, La réforme grégorienne, I, 193 and 204f.

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[56] "Taceo de vilitate spontanea et asperitate vestium, de duritia, de austeritate cubilium, et de districta censura silentii, de amore perpetuae inclusionis." PL 144, 332. Cf. also PL 145, 330.338.344.353; R. Biron, op. cit., 17, 19, 23; A. Fliche, La réforme grégorienne, I, 205; P. Schmitz, op. cit., II, 405 and S. Hilpisch, Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums, 164.

[57] R. Biron, op. cit., 26; A. Fliche, La réforme grégorienne, I, 204; P. Schmitz, op. cit., II, 403. Cf. PL 145, 306 on the study of dialectics. Peter Damian prescribed manual occupations in so far as they did not conflict with stability and prayer, for prayer was the principal "labor" of the hermit. Hence his admiration for Cluny's ideal of perpetual prayer even though it meant the exclusion of manual labor. Cf. PL 145, 874 and A. Louf, op. cit., 195.

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[58] "Eremitae officium est in jejunio silentioque quiescere." PL 145, 339, Cf. ibid., 332: "In cellulis continuum tenetur..silentium." See also PL 145, 344.350 and PL 144, 444; F. Dressler, op. cit., 50, 52; and R. Biron, op.cit., 18 and 23.

[59] "Juxta id quod exiguitati loci humilis competebat, studuimus eotenus possessiones acquirere: ut praedictum

Similar principles guided the observances on food and meals. The hermit's diet consisted of meatless solid food, cooked dishes, various kinds of fruits and vegetables, and, on occasions, of fish and wines. His bread ration was the same as in cenobitic monasteries. According to the season of the year, the hermit fasted four or five days a week, i.e. took only bread, salt and water. This also, when away from the monastery. He had two meals on Sundays and Thursdays from Easter to mid-September, and on Tuesdays during the summer months. He cooked his meals in his cell, but only one dish for each meal. He never ate meat and gave up fish during Advent and Lent, except on the feasts of saints Martin, Andrew, Benedict, as well as on Holy Thursday and Palm Sunday. Wine, at first prohibited even to visiting laymen, was eventually served on Sundays, Thursdays and great feasts, but not in Advent and Lent (except on the days when fish could be eaten), to invigorate the hermits weakened by constant mortifications. To lessen the number of exceptions, the hermits transferred lesser feasts to non-fasting days,

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fratrum numerum possis, nisi exercendi cura defuerit, sustentare." PL 145, 334. Cf. ibid., 330: "In hoc nempe loco, qui fons Avellani dicitur, plerumque viginti plus minus monachi per cellulas, sive in assignata cuique obedientia degimus; ut omnes simul cum conversis et famulis tricenarium quinarum numerum aut vix, aut breviter, excedamus." See also PL 145, 344.351.353.517ff. and R. Biron, op. cit., 23f. 26; F. Dressler, op. cit., 48, 51f.; and A. Fliche, La réforme grégorienne, I, 193, 198, 201ff.

i.e. Tuesdays and Thursdays, fasted on most octaves, and ate only one meal on twelve lesson feasts between mid-September and Easter. On account of their work, the *conversi*, though following the hermits in other respects, fasted only four times a week in Advent and Lent, and three times a week during the rest of the year. Further allowances were made on Sundays and great feasts, when the procurator could grant a third dish; it was not uncommon, however, to reject such favors or also better dishes, and some religious fasted even on the Sundays of Advent and Lent.[60]

The spirit of penance pervaded also the hermits' prayer life. They said the canonical hours in common, as in cenobitic monasteries, but did not return to their beds after the night office; instead they recited psalms until Lauds. In addition to the regular office, they recited two more psalteries each day--one for the living, another for the dead--whenever there were two hermits in a cell. To the first they added the prayers of St. Romuald, i.e. special doxologies after every fifth psalm, three *Our Fathers*, the canticles of the entire week, the hymn *Te Deum*, the canticle

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[60] PL 145, 330ff. 340ff. 346ff. 352f. 857ff.; and R. Biron, *op. cit.*, 17f.; F. Dressler, *op. cit.*, 50f.; A. Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, I, 200 and 262. See also Robert Bultot, *Christianisme et valeurs humaines. La doctrine du mépris du monde IV. Le XIe siècle 1. Pierre Damien* (Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1963), 112 n. 282 and 132 n. 330.

Nunc dimittis, the Creed, the Glory to God in the Highest, as well as litanies and orations. The second had nine lessons, i.e. three readings after every fiftieth psalm. If a hermit was alone in his cell, he recited the psaltery for the living and, according to his strength, the entire or half psaltery for the deceased. All hermits attended Mass on Sundays.[61]

Among the penitential exercises propagated by Peter Damian was the discipline. In this he followed the example of such contemporaries, or near-contemporaries, as Regino of Prum, Guy of Pomposa, and Poppo of Stavelot. He justified the practice from the example of Christ and the apostles and countless martyrs who had undergone similar chastisements, and from the inadequacy of existing penitential tariff books. He prescribed the discipline for every Friday, and soon Fonte Avellana had its own penitential system. 3000 strokes, for instance, were considered to be the equivalent of what the Church would consider one year's penance. Beating oneself for the duration of ten psalms equalled 1000 strokes; for the duration of the 150 psalms, five years' penance; and for the duration of twenty psalteries, one hundred years' penance; When a hermit died, his confreres fasted for seven days and offered up seven scourgings (of 1000 strokes) for his soul. Bodily mortification had thus become the chief attribute of the hermits' ascetical life. This also called for the subordination of the spiritual, as seen from the practice of chastising the body during prayer and meditation.[62] Peter even defended a monk who went against his abbot's injunction, in order to go beyond the ascetical demands of the Rule. He felt, since the practices in question were intended for hermits and not for cenobites, they were in no way against the Rule of St. Benedict.[63]

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[61] PL 145, 226f. 332. 343f. 350, and 564. See also R. Biron, op. cit., 24f.; and F. Dressler, op. cit., 52f.

This spirit produced examples of heroic mortification at Fonte Avellana. Peter's favorite disciple was Dominicus Loricatus, a man of incredible penances. He was always in armor which he took off only when scourging himself with two, instead of the usual one, scourges. Of greatest endurance, he often performed one hundred years' penance in six days. Once during Lent he set out to do a thousand years' penance, i.e. scourge himself through two hundred psalteries, and was able to carry out his resolve before the season was over. At night he often scourged himself through nine consecutive psalteries and felt disappointed at not being able to add one more psaltery. On one occasion, however, he succeeded in scourging himself through twelve consecutive psalteries and 31 additional psalms.[64]

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[62] PL 144, 331. 347ff. 414ff. 422ff., and PL 145, 333 and 343. Cf. R. Biron, op. cit., 19f., A. Fliche, La réforme grégorienne, I, 201ff., 243; P. Schmitz, op. cit., II, 405; S. Hilpisch, Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums, 165.

[63] A. Fliche, La réforme grégorienne, I, 262.

Others performed similar austerities. One hermit, for instance, ate only twice a week, for a year and a half. Another was satisfied with crumbs instead of bread. A third used to recite two consecutive psalteries with outstretched arms. A fourth knew only fifty psalms by heart; he prayed these seven times a day. In addition, he stayed in his cell for fifteen years without ever leaving it or having his hair cut and his beard shaven. He lived on bread and stale water to which he added tasteless vegetables on Sundays.[65]

In spite of such excessive rigor, Peter Damian also knew what moderation and discretion meant. Thus, while granting free rein to the valiant, he gave fixed rules and regulations to the rest of the community. He abolished fasting during the octaves of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, excepting only those capable of greater hardships. On feasts of twelve lessons--this, however, was a rarity--he sometimes granted better meals and, in general, allowed meat for the sick. In consideration of individual dispositions, he also introduced the siesta during the summer months. To prevent abuses and, to keep the hermits fit for the regular exercises, Peter also insisted that extraordinary mortifications should be undertaken only on a voluntary basis. For the same reason he limited scourging to forty psalms on regular days, and to sixty in Advent and Lent.[66]

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[64] PL 144, 1015ff. Cf. H. Taylor, op. cit., I, 397f.; R. Biron, op. cit., 22f.; S. Hilpisch, Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums, 165f.; and P. Schmitz, op. cit., III, 16.

[65] PL 145, 325 and 753ff. Cf. R. Biron, op. cit., 31; and S. Hilpisch, Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums, 166.

Though Peter Damian did not intend to found a new religious order, Fonte Avellana soon became a center of monastic reform. It was able to make foundations and then there were other monasteries which accepted its usages. Peter Damian frequently visited them and saw to it that they observed regular discipline. The congregation of Fonte Avellana continued its independent existence until 1570; then it was attached to the order of Camaldoli.[67]

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[66] PL 144, 433f. Cf. PL 145, 348ff. and R. Biron, op. cit., 16f., and 25. According to M. Della Santa, Peter Damian's personal evolution was marked by a "progressive maturation which enabled him to render his ascetical demands accessible to a greater number...One can notice an...evolution which led him from an exaltation of the eremitic at the expense of the cenobitic ideal, to a more matured enthusiasm." A. Louf, op. cit., 192. Hence, "there is no indication that all the cenobites indiscriminately were called to pass eventually to the desert." A. Louf, op. cit., 194.

[67] R. Biron, op.cit., 14ff.; P. Schmitz, op. cit., III, 16; A. Fliche, La réforme grégorienne, I, 205. Gregory VII

Selfless, uncompromising and violent, Peter Damian was a man of genius with one overriding ambition: to lead souls to God. This made him a prime mover in the Gregorian Reform. Employing his great talents, he mercilessly attacked simony, Nicolaitism and luxury, unafraid to speak his mind to Popes, kings and princes. But his main concern were the monks of his time. Not content with combatting a multitude of abuses existing in their midst, he passionately urged them to leave the easier path traced by the Rule of St. Benedict and go for the perfect solution, the hermit's way. The latter may not be basically different from Romuald's ideal, still, because of his writingsalone, Peter Damian will always be more than the reformer of Fonte Avellana.[68]

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took Fonte Avellana under papal protection. Cf. PL 148, 669f.--Unlike in Romuald's set-up, the hermitages and coenobia of Peter Damian never formed a single institution, but remained completely independent of each other (A. Louf, op. cit., 193), united only by a vinculum caritatis, "the first traces of a form of congregation based on charity--an idea borrowed later by Vallombrosa and Cîteaux." A. Louf, op. cit.,

[68] P. Schmitz, op. cit., II, 403; A. Fliche, La réforme grégorienne, I, 188, 190ff., 205f.; D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, 194ff.; F. Dressler, op. cit., 60ff.; and S. Hilpisch, Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums, 164f. For Peter Damian's contribution to medieval piety, the cultivation of Christ's passion and propagation of Marian devotions--including the little office of the Blessed Virgin Mary--see PL 145, 565ff., and 920ff. Cf. also R. Biron, op. cit., 26, 28; P. Schmitz, op. cit., II, 403f.; and D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, 196.

Monastic revival in Italy moved not only in the direction of eremitism; it also produced a cenobitic revival. This was to a large extent the work of the Florentine St. John Gualbert.[69] A wayward youth, John changed his ways after a vision and joined the community of San Miniato abbey in his native city. Driven by the desire for a more solitary life, he began to search for a more suitable monastery. He first visited Camaldoli, but left again, to avoid ordination to the priesthood[70] and also in view of the growing awareness that his ideal was not the hermitage but the monastery. He then retired to Aqua Bella, a deserted place between Florence and Camaldoli subsequently names Vallombrosa, and after seven years of solitary life set up a small monastery with newly arrived companions. He became their prior and then, against his wish, also their abbot. Their life was half cenobitic, half eremitic, in a purely contemplative interpretation of the Benedictine Rule, where external activities, manual labor and administrative duties were entrusted to lay brothers. The reform was approved by Pope Victor II. It spread, subsequently, to other parts of Italy and, before the century was over, also to France. John Gualbert became the founder of a powerful congregation which numbered eight monasteries at the time of his death in 1073.

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[69] For John Gualbert's life, see PL 146, 671ff. (by Atto) and PL 146, 765ff. (by Andreas of Strumi); AS, Jul. III, 311ff.; MGH, 30, 1076ff.; Diego de Franchi, Historia del patriarcha S. Giovan Gvalberto primo abbate di Vallombrosa (Fiorenze: G. B. Landini, 1640); Alfonso Salvini, S. Giovanni Gualberto fondatore di Vallombrosa (Alba: Pia Società San Paolo, 1943); Placido Lugano, L'Italia benedettina (Roma: F. Ferrari, 1929), 307ff.; J. Mabillon, Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti, VI-2, 266ff.; The Book of Saints, 333; L. Brockhoff, op. cit., 170f.; M. Heimbucher, op. cit., I, 409; DCR, III, 838ff.; P. Kehr, op. cit., III, 83; P. Schmitz, op. cit., III, 16f.; S. Hilpisch, Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums, 167.

[70] "Tunc prior ejusdem loci volens virum Dei ad sacros ordines promovere et stabilitatem loci promittere, renuit penitus, quia fervor ejus in coenobitali vita tantum erat, et secumdum sancti Benedicti regulam vivere." PL 146, 676.

Vallombrosa was founded in the year 1038 or 1039. It consisted of separately built simple huts patterned after the layout of Camaldoli, with an additional hospice built by the founder for prospective newcomers. The founders called it a "hermitage." In time, however, the eremitic element gave way to more cenobitic arrangements, in line with the founder's desire to return to the original observance of St. Benedict.[71] This had been in his mind all the time. Already after leaving San Miniato, he went about, inquiring "whether he would be able to find a monastery where the Rule of...blessed Father Benedict is observed."[72]

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[71] DOR, III, 840f.; M. Heimbucher, op. cit., I, 408f.; and CMH, V, 668.

[72] "Beatus Johannes ivit in Romandiolam ad perquirendum si invenire posset aliquod monasterium in quo observaretur regula beati patris nostri Benedicti." PL 146, 676. Cf. Roger Duvernay, "Cîteaux, Vallombreuse et Etienne Harding," Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, 8(1952), 386n. 5.

Accordingly, "he investigated many monasteries with great care, but found that the Rule was not observed as it should have been."[73] This increased his determination "to found a monastery in a suitable solitude, in order to be able to live according to the Rule of St. Benedict."[74] After he became abbot of Vallombrosa, "he set out to explore, with great diligence, the right meaning of the Rule and to devote all his energies to its full restoration."[75] The outcome for Vallombrosa was a cenobitic life according to the Rule of St. Benedict, with further restrictions of a penitential nature to ensure a strictly contemplative life. In the words of C. Butler, "The Vallombrosians near Florence maintained a cenobitical life, but eliminated every element of Benedictine life that was not devoted to pure contemplation."[76]

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[73] R. Duvernay, "Cîteaux, Vallombreuse," loc. cit., 387 n. 1.

[74] "Dixitque se desiderare in aliqua solitudine monasterium condere, ut secundum regulam sancti benedicti vivere posset." R. Duvernay, "Cîteaux, Vallombreuse," loc. cit., 386 n. 4.

[75] "Vir Dei, sumpto officio et abbatis nomine coepit sensum Regulae diligenter inspicere et ad ejus observationem totis viribus operam dare." PL 146, 679. Cf. ibid., 775.

[76] Benedictine Monachism, 302. Cf. M. Dmitrewski, op. cit., 71; S. Hilpisch, Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums, 167f.; E. Werner, Pauperes Christi, 101; D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, 194.

Considering eremitic life the privilege of a few chosen souls, John Gualbert decided in favor of the vita communis in his new establishment. He was grateful for the vocations sent by divine Providence, restored the Benedictine idea of a full year's noviciate, "decided to observe the Rule of St. Benedict concerning them /i.e. the novices/ in all things, and began to test the newcomers in line with the provisions of the Rule."[77] He subjected them to severe penances and humble work and severely punished transgression, usually in the form of beatings.

The religious of Vallombrosa lived in single cells, observing strict silence both there as well as in the other regular places. Completely separated from the world, they stayed in the monastery until death. They could not go on the outside for the transaction of business, or to visit the sick, attend funerals or engage in pastoral activities. Accordingly, they rejected churches and altars--which John Gualbert felt, was "the concern of canons, not of monks"--and lands and denied burial in their monasteries to laymen.[78]

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[77] "Cernens igitur pater Johannes tot talesque viros sibi coelitus in auxilium missos, disposuit cum eisdem beati Benedicti regulam in omnibus observare, coepitque noviter venientes ea probatione suscipere quam insinuat regula." PL 146, 677. Cf. R. Duvernay, "Cîteaux, Vallombreuse," loc. cit., 389, 404, 410ff.; and M. Heimbucher, op. cit., I, 410.

[78] PL 146, 679. Cf. ibid., 775: "Vir Dei nullum monachorum permittebat ad mercata vel ad loca saecularia ire,

Another characteristic of the Vallombrosians was their cultivation of extreme poverty. Often a single loaf of bread had to suffice for three persons. They fasted regularly throughout the whole year, and more strictly in Advent and Lent. A person's belongings could be put in a single sack.[79] As in eastern monachism, John Gualbert refused admittance to rich candidates, as long as they kept a single piece of money.[80] The monks' habit was simple, at first ashen, as a sign of penance, then tawny colored and, finally,

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infirmos extra monasterium visitare...Vetuit defuncta ad monasterium deferenda; prohibuit accipere capellas...Canonicorum, non monachorum, hoc esse officium dicebat." See also R. Duvernay, "Citeaux, Vallombreuse," loc. cit., 392ff.; Andreas Januensis, Vita sancti Joannis Gualberti (Florence: State Archives, ms. conv. 260-223), 19^r; Brunetto Quilici, "Giovanni Gualberto e la sua riforma monastica," Archivio storico italiano, 99(1941), 113ff., and 100(1942), 45ff., especially p. 66; S. Hilpisch, Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums, 167f.; H. DeWarren, "Le monachisme à l'apparition de Bernard," loc. cit., 54 n. 53 and 59.

[79] "Manserunt ibi multo tempore, ligneum habentes tantummodo oratorium. Indigentiam victuum tantam tunc perpessi sunt, ut plerumque tres unum per diem dividerant panem. Quaecumque erant camerulae, vestiarii, unius sacci capacitas continebat." PL 146, 667. Cf. ibid., 772. As for manual labor, see PL 146, 776: "Ejus [Joannis] admonitione pariterque exemplo in tantum amorem observandae Regulae venerunt ut nec manuum opera, nec alia, quae videtur Regula praecipere, gravia omitterent." Cf. H. DeWarren, "Le monachisme à l'apparition de Bernard," loc. cit., 60. On the renunciation of meat, see PL 146, 681.

[80] "Hoc ei donum a Jesu Christo collatum est, ut personam potentis vel divitis non libentus sumeret." PL 146, 773. Cf. ibid., 678. See also M. Dmitrewski, op. cit., 72.

black. In this they also slept.[81] To cultivate simplicity, their churches were free of ornaments.[82]

While infringements of the Rule called for severe beatings, stricter ascetical practices were performed, as a rule, individually; they were counselled to others, but never made obligatory. Hence the rule that no one was to wear a hair shirt against his wish, bathe in icy water or flog himself until bleeding.[83]

By way of exception, the divine office reflected the splendor of Cluny. As B. Albers, who edited the usages of Vallombrosa, concluded,

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[81] "Fratres...ejus exemplo vel admonitione frequenter instructi cum omni obedientia fideliter observabant; vilitatem et extremitatem vestium adeo diligentes ut cilicina tunc veste uterentur." PL 146, 679. See also ibid., 776: "Procuraverunt Fratres pro sustentatione vestium habere gregem ovium; quas cum providus Pater diversi coloris esse cerneret, nigredinis, et albedinis, timuit ne si seorsum faceret nigram et seorsum albam, alter aliquando pannum vellet nigrum alter album, et hac de causa inter Fratres oriretur diversitas mentium, sicut exterius esset diversitas vestium: qua de causa fieri praecepit pannum promiscuum [griseum]. Cf. PL 146, 727; R. Duvernay, "Cîteaux, Vallombreuse," loc. cit., 400; B. Quilici, "Giovanni Gualberto," loc, cit., 66; L. Brockhoff, op. cit., 171; M. Heimbucher, op. cit., I, 413; H. DeWarren, "Le monachisme à l'apparition de Bernard," loc, cit., 60.

[82] "Ligneum habentes tantummodo parvum oratorium." PL 146, 677. Cf. ibid., 772.

[83] "Vilitatem et extremitatem vestium adeo diligentes ut cilicina tunc veste uterentur, quam nemo ferre cogeretur invitus, nec ad ferendum volens prohiberetur." PL 146, 679. Cf. ibid., 776. See also B. Quilici, "Giovanni Gualberto," loc. cit., 66; S. Hilpisch, Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums, 167f.; and CE, XV, 263.

> The oldest usages of the Vallombrosians are closely related to those of the Cluniacs and to those of some German monasteries; hence, i.e. on the basis of their oldest customs, one is not justified to see in the Vallombrosians a new branch of the Benedictine order; they should only be considered as Benedictines who adopted the usages then observed by the Black Benedictines. With the Gluniacs they shared especially the horror of simony, and only special circumstances have in later times been responsible for the fact that they be considered a separate branch of the Benedictine order.[84]

To ensure undistunbed contemplation to his monks and also to facilitate the training of the young, John Gualbert admitted non-professed lay brothers in his monastery. The latter exercised their special craft, cared for the temporal needs of the monks, and settled all business outside the monastery. Their habit was shorter than that of the monks and its hood was fitted with sheepskin. Because of the nature of their duties, they were required to say less prayers, could break silence in case of necessity and when outside the monastery, and were allowed to wear linen clothes during the summer, on account of the heat.[85]

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[84] Bruno Albers, "Die aeltesten Consuetudines von Vallumbrosa," Revue Bénédictine, 28(1911), 436. Cf. U. Berlière, Ascèse bénédictine, 34; B. Quilici, "Giovanni Gualberto," loc. cit., 67; and H. DeWarren, "Le monachisme à l'apparition de Bernard," loc, cit., 60. See also A. Louf, op. cit., 207.

[85] "Deus...misit ad eum etiam laicos viros timoratos, qui legem Domini per omnia custodire cupientes, in bonis moribus fere nihil a monachis distabant, extra vestium qualitatem et silentium quod, in exterioribus occupati, nequiebant plenius observare. Tales igitur tam probatos conversos pater ad mercaturam et omnia exteriora secure mittebat." PL 146,

Vallombrosa itself was donated to John Gualbert by Ita, abbess of San Ellero. Initially she also supplied the new foundation with food, oil, books and other necessities, and had the right to appoint its superior. This, however, came to an end when Pope Victor II approved Vallombrosa in 1055 and granted its monks the right to elect their own superior.[86] With the arrival of candidates--especially after John Gualbert had somewhat lessened the original rigors--new foundations could be made. To these came other, already existing, monasteries which adopted its reform and, as a result, came to consider themselves as belonging to Vallombrosa, with John as their head-abbot and visitator. John regularly visited his houses, appointing their superiors, urging them to observe strict poverty and correcting possible

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679. Cf. *ibid.*, 776: "A diebus quibus monachi coeperunt ad eum venire, Deus...misit ei fideles laicos diversi ordinis... Nihil omnino a monachis distabant praeter quod permittebantur uti lineis vestibus in nimio fervore aestatis et praeter silentium quod in exterioribus occupati observare nequibant." See also R. Duvernay, "Cîteaux, Vallombreuse," *loc. cit.*, 400, 403, 418ff.; DCR, III, 842f.: B. Quilici, "Giovanni Gualberto," *loc. cit.*, 61f.; L. Brockhoff, *op. cit.*, 171f.; M. Heimbucher, *op. cit.*, I, 332; S. Hilpisch, *Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums*, 167; E. Werner, *Pauperes Christi*, 107f.; H. DeWarren, "Le monachisme à l'apparition de Bernard," *loc. cit.*, 60.

[86] PL 146, 677f. Cf. *ibid.*, 772 and 774. See also R. Duvernay, "Cîteaux, Vallombreuse," *loc. cit.*, 389 (*Instrumentum*); P. Kehr, *op. cit.*, III, 87; and M. Heimbucher, *op. cit.*, I, 409f.

shortcomings.[87] By 1073, the year of John's death the congregation had uniform observances and its houses were bound to each other by bonds of charity. Soon after, Gregory VII exhorted the Vallombrosians to imitate the ideals of their founder.[88] Under this Pontiff Vallombrosa emerged as a full-fledged order, with abbeys, priories, hospices and cells. It had a centralized government, with yearly general chapters and a "general abbot" whose duty was to ensure regular discipline, to visit houses, issue decrees, repress abuses, remove ill-suited superiors, punish the unworthy and comfort the oppressed. As at Cluny, all monks made their vows to him.[89] In his privilege of the year 1090, Pope Urban II prescribed uniformity among all the Vallombrosian monasteries. Their head was the abbot of Vallombrosa who is elected by all the superiors in general congregation.[90] Around this time, the order made its first advances into France where Corneilly near Silviacum was established probably before 1090 and Malanum--later called Casale Benedictum, Chézal-Benoît--between 1093 and 1098, just a few years before the foundation of Cîteaux.[91]

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[87] PL 146, 680 and 777. Cf. ibid., 778: "Directis itaque Fratribus et ordinatis Praepositis per singula loca, Pater ea, cum ab infirmitate sublevaretur, visitare, et qualitatem cunctorum diligenter noscere studebat. Quae vero corrigenda erant, sollicite corrigebat et quae ordinanda, caute et provide ordinabat." See also M. Heimbucher, op. cit., I, 410

[88] PL 148, 644; J. Mansi, 20, 374; D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, 194.

[89] PL 146, 680 and 778. Cf. B. Quilici, "Giovanni Gualberto," loc. cit., 62ff.; S. Hilpisch, Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums, 168; R. Duvernay, "Cîteaux, Vallombreuse," loc. cit., 440. See also below, n. 92.

Shortly before his death, John exhorted his followers to remain strong in fraternal charity.

> It is most beneficial to preserve brotherly unity in the care of one person. For as a river dries up if it is diverted into many outlets, so does fraternal charity decrease...if it is dissipated into diverse channels. Therefore, that this charity may remain among you undiminished

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[90] PL 151, 322f. See also PL 146, 725: "Nos vestro provectui, annuente Domino, provectus adjungere cupientes, coenobium vestrum pro B. Mariae semper Virginis reverentia, cui dicatum est, in Romanae Ecclesiae proprietatem et tutelam, atque protectionem apostolicae Sedis accipimus; et Apostolicae illud auctoritatis privilegio munientes ab omnium personarum jugo liberum permanere decernimus." Cf. P. Kehr, op. cit., III, 88 and M. Heimbucher, op. cit., I, 411. On the status of the abbot of Vallombrosa, see PL 146, 807: "Horum quippe rectores annuatim conveniant memoria retinentes bonitatem et sanctitatem nec non instituta boni et primi Patris, sibi offerunt alteri alterutris quaecumque sub cura habent videlicet et substantias, secundum imperium Vallis Imbrosae abbatis quem super se electum habent in vice Joannis primi abbatis. Et sunt in fide una unum cor et animum habentes, potius parati mori quam ab alterutro dividi."

[91] PL 146, 728f. Cf. R. Duvernay, "Cîteaux, Vallombreuse," loc. cit., 455n. 4 and 456; H. DeWarren, "Le monachisme à l'apparition de Bernard," loc. cit., 60; M. Heimbucher, op. cit., I, 411. According to R. Duvernay, Vallombrosa had 8 monasteries in 1073, at least 19 in 1090, 34 in 1100, and 38 in 1115. Loc. cit., 454 n. 1.

> for a long time to come, it is my wish that after my death your care and counsel should rest with the lord Rudolph, just as it had rested on me during my lifetime.[92]

At first the monks of Vallombrosa were not all priests. Internal considerations as well as the need to combat simony in nearby Florence however soon convinced John Gualbert that his monks should be ordained to the priesthood.[93] From then on Vallombrosa waged a relentless struggle against simony and other clerical abuses in Florence, so that, according to Pope Alexander II, it was through the efforts of John Gualbert that the region was freed from simony.[94] This involvement was not, of course, in line with the Vallombrosian principle of seclusion. Perhaps, it was motivated by the higher ideals of the sentire cum Ecclesia; in any case, it does not justify B. Werner's assertion that Gualbertine monachism was wholly directed toward the city.[95] Another of John's concern was the erection of hospices and the renovation of old churches. The former were well endowed, since each abbey diverted one third of its income to their upkeep.[96]

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[92] "Ad hanc /charitatem/ vero inviolabiliter custodiendam valde utilis est unitas fraterna, quae se constringit sub unius personae curam, quoniam sicut flumen a suo alveo siccatur, si in multis rivulis dividatur: sic fraterna unitas minus valet ad singula, si fuerit sparsa per diversa. Idcirco, ut in longo ista charitas inviolabilis permaneat vobiscum, volo ut in domino Rodulfo vestra cura et consilium post meum obitum pendeat, saltem sicut in me pependit in mea vita." PL 146, 701. Cf. B. Quilici, "Giovanni Gualberto," loc. cit., 62 n. 254. See also PL 146, 807, "Et sunt in fide una, unum cor et animum habentes, potius parati mori quam ab alterutro dividi."

[93] "Pater pius, more solito nimia pietate commotus, non solum illos, sed etiam quos jam in interiori cella novitiorum habebat et qui venerant induere monasticum habitum, inde abstraxit, et a Rodulfo episcopo Tudertino, sanctissimo et catholico viro, gradatim ordinari fecit." PL 146, 699. Cf. E. Werner, Pauperes Christi, 104f.

[94] PL 146, 683.686.690ff. 698f. 730. 777. 786. 792ff. Cf. J. Mahn, op. cit., 28. John Gualbert also fought clerical incontinence; PL 146, 682.

John Gualbert was, perhaps, not as inventive in his reform as Romuald or Peter Damian; still he has a lasting place in monastic history, mostly because of his endeavor to apply certain advantages of eremitic life to cenobitic monachism. This, in turn, produced his monastic ideal: strictly contemplative cenobites assisted by lay brothers, in a centralized order headed by an abbot general.[97] With his formula he strengthened Benedictine cenobitism in its hour of crisis, i.e. when faced by internal difficulties and a victorious tide of eremitism.

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[95] Pauperes Christi, 108.

[96] "Hospitalia quoque constructa et ecclesiae vetustae renovatae ejus auxilio cognoscuntur." PL 146, 682. Cf. B. Quilici, "Giovanni Gualberto," loc. cit., 47; and L. Brockhoff, op. cit., 172.

[97] B. Quilici, "Giovanni Gualberto," loc. cit., 60f.; M. Heimbucher, op. cit., I, 410; J. Leclercq, "La crise du monachisme," loc. cit., 27; S. Hilpisch, Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums, 168. For the prayers composed by John Gualbert, see PL 146, 969ff.

According to D. Knowles,

> Vallombrosa...had a twofold significance. (1) It was the first reforming monastery of the revival of the eleventh century in which the Rule of St. Benedict was officially interpreted in a strict sense, thus probably exceeding the severity intended by its author...(2) In order to free his monks from the distractions and temptations of administration...John Gualbert added a class of non-clerical _conversi_ the class which in another form came to be known later as lay brothers.[98]

Vallombrosa was therefore an anticipation, if not a forebear, of subsequent reforms, including that of the early Cistercians.

Monastic revival north of the Alps--and, more specifically, in France,--began with a great upsurge of eremitic life in the middle of the eleventh century. The development was in many ways spontaneous; in time, however, religious leaders--and their number was by no means unimpressive--succeeded in channeling the movement into more organized forms. In the process they laid the foundations to new religious institutions, two of which merit our special consideration here: the order of Grandmont and the Carthusians.[99]

The founder of the Grammontensians, Stephen of Thiers,[100] was born in the Auvergne around 1045.

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[98] D. Knowles, _From Pachomius to Ignatius_, 18f.

[99] _Ibid_., 17 and 20.

[100] For Stephen's life, see PL 204, 1005ff.; AS, Feb. II, 205ff.; DOR, II, 414ff.; Jean Becquet, "S. Etienne de

In his youth he accompanied his father to Bari, to visit the tomb of St. Nicholas.[101] Unable to return because of illness, he was left in the care of archbishop Milo of Beneventum who also took charge of his education. While in Calabria, Stephen came into contact with Greek monasticism[102] and developed a great liking for their anachoretic practices. After Milo's death he spent some time in Rome in pursuit of further studies. Soon however, feeling the call to a life of seclusion and contemplation, he returned to France where around 1076 he retired to a self-built hermitage at Muret, not far from Grandmont in the diocese of Limoges, "a veritable desert, rough, cold sterile, secluded, inaccessible, frequented

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Muret," DSAM, IV, 1504ff.; A. Lecler, "Histoire de l'abbaye de Grandmont," Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin, 57(1907), 130; L. Brockhoff, op. cit., 176f.; M. Heimbucher, op. cit., I, 415; The Book of Saints, 550; P. Schmitz, op. cit., III, 18.

[101] Since the translation of St. Nicholas' relics took place in 1087, the visit was probably made to St. Michael on Mount Galgano. Cf. R. Graham, English Ecclesiastical Studies, 209.

[102] "Religiosa congregatio...ab omni cura temporalium erat remotior. Pecudibus possessionibusque ac universis rerem mundanarum occupationibus ita penitus renuntiaverat, quod unde professores sui ad tumultum saeculi revocarentur non habebat...nullus in ea aliquid proprium possidebat... nullos nonnisi seipsos habebant ministros...corporalis autem subsidii sollicitudinem solummodo in Deum projecerant, unanimiter in claustro viventes." PL 204, 1013.

more by wild beasts than by men."[103] After a year spent in complete seclusion and strict asceticism, disciples began to arrive, necessitating the establishment of a regular monastery built on such models as Calabria and Camaldoli and, possibly, also the Grand Chartreuse. Stephen headed the community as its corrector until his death on February 8, 1124. Soon thereafter, territorial disputes about the ownership of Muret forced the community to move to the neighboring desert of Grandmont; this became the permanent center of Stephen's reform.[104] Grandmont developed into an order before 1100 and eventually spread all over France. It had sixty houses by 1170--some of them in England--and survived until the French Revolution.[105]

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[103] "Deinde...ad nemorosum montem, qui non longe distat ab urbe Lemovicarum, et Muretum dicitur, Christo ducente pervenit, ubi fontes reperit et rupes terramque desertam et inviam quae novo hospiti suo potum frigidissimum et domum ventis expositam offerens, afflictionem corporis et requiem mentis manifestis indiciis promittebat. Porro tota silvestris et sterilis, ut omni fere tempore hiemalis, hominibus insueta, assueta feris, aliud non poterat polliceri." PL 204, 1015f. Cf. A. Lecler, "Histoire de l'abbaye de Grandmont," loc. cit., 138. R. Duvernay believes, Milo died in 1076, and Stephen spent four years in Rome before returning to his native country. Hence "the date of this foundation is not 1076, as is generally asserted, but posterior to 1080 (probably 1081 or 1082)." "Cîteaux, Vallombreuse," loc. cit., 456f. See also RHF, XI, 169; A. Fliche, Le règne de Philippe Ier, 469; Philippus Jaffé and Gulielmus Wattenbach, Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita Ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII (Lipsiae: Veit et comp., 1885), I, 606; Jean Becquet, "La regle de Grandmont," Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin, 87(1958), 29; H. Workman, op. cit., 250 n. 4.

[104] PL 204, 1028f. Cf. also Jean Hauréau, "Sur quelques écrivains de l'Ordre de Grandmont, d'après le n° 17187 de la Bibliothèque Nationale," Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, 24-2 (1876), 255; R. Graham, English Ecclesiastical Studies, 211.

Stephen of Thiers left no written rule to his disciples, As he explained,

> In my Father's house there are many mansions, and there are many ways which lead to it. These divers ways have been commended in writing by divers of the Fathers, and they are called the Rules of St. Basil, St. Augustine, and St. Benedict. These are not the source of religious life, but only its offshoots; they are not the root but only the leaves. The Rule from which all others derive, like streams flowing from a single source, is the Holy Gospel.[106]

This he urged his disciples to follow.[107] This means, Stephen adopted none of the hitherto known religious rules, but left everything undetermined on purpose. To visiting cardinals he declared that he and his followers were neither canons who administer churches and have the power to bind and to loose; nor monks who think only of God; nor hermits who avoid all contacts with the world and stay in their cells to devote themselves to prayer penance and silence.[108] Still, already in Stephen's lifetime, traces of organized life--profession, common meals with reading and meetings in chapter--made their appearance.[109] The so-called Rule of St. Stephen was compiled under Stephen of Lissac, the fourth prior of Grandmont, which contains the usages of the latter as observed some twenty or thirty years after the founder's death. It drew from a number of sources: the maxims and ascetical practices of Stephen, the Rule of St. Benedict and the customs of the Carthusians. Approved by Pope Hadrian IV, it was further elaborated in the times of Innocent III and John XXll.[110]

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[105] L. Brockhoff, op. cit., 177f.; M. Heimbucher, op. cit., I, 416; P. Schmitz, op. cit., III, 18.

[106] "Ad domum illam Patris summi, in qua filius multas testatur esse mansiones diversae viarum optiones...sunt... Quae viarum diversitates quamvis a diversis Patribus scripto sint commendatae, ita quod appelletur Regula beati Basilii, Regula beati Augustini, Regula beati Benedicti, tamen non origo religionis, sed propagines sunt; non radix sed frondes sunt: una est enim fidei et salutis prima ac principalis Regularum Regula, a qua omnes aliae, quasi quidam rivuli de uno fonte, derivantur, sanctum videlicet Evangelium." PL 204, 1035f. Cf. R. Graham, English Ecclesiastical Studies, 212.

[107] "Evangelii praecepta, quantum ipso [Christo] donante poteritis, adimplere curate." PL 204, 1138. This is also why shortly before his death Stephen exhorted his followers, "in hac regula de Evangelio sumpta perseveraveritis." PL 204, 1026.

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[108] "Ecce vestibus monachorum et canonicorum...non utimur, ut videtis, quoniam etiam tantae sanctitatis vocabula nobis non usurpamus. Nam canonicorum institutio quae habet potestatem ligandi atque solvendi quemadmodum apostoli, supereminet potestati monachorum ideoque ut diximus usurpare vitam illorum minime audemus...Nomine autem monachorum non utimur, quia nomen sanctitatis et singularitatis sortiti sunt vocabulum...illi specialiter monachi dicuntur qui sui amplius curam (non) agunt, nec aliud cogitant nisi tantummodo de Deo. Eremitarum vero vitam imitari minime valemus, quia in hoc specialiter est vita omnium eremitarum: devitare saeculi tumultus, et permanere in cellulis suis, quatenus vacent orationi et silentio." PL 204, 1022f.

[109] PL 204, 1016, 1018ff. Cf. K. Hallinger, "Woher kommen die Laienbrüder," loc. cit., 9.

[110] Regula Sancti Stephani Confessoris; PL 204, 1135ff. Liber senteniarum seu Rationum Sancti Stephani; PL 204,

The community of Muret consisted of clerics devoted to divine worship and contemplation, and _conversi_ who took care of the material needs of the establishment. The contemplative clerics lived separately, like the anchorites of the ancient _laurae_, and assembled only for the celebration of the divine office in the oratory and for community exercises in the cloister, chapter room, refectory and dormitory.[111]

The clerics' exclusive occupation was contemplation and prayer. The latter included the divine office, the little office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the office of the dead and of the Holy Trinity (with nine lessons), conventual Mass, processions for the dead and--last, but not least--also private devotions. To these came numerous genuflections and the so-called _orationes familiares_. The trend was thus clearly in the direction of the _oratio continua_, continuous prayer.[112] The founder also called for strict silence and

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1085ff. Cf. J. Becquet, "La règle de Grandmont," _loc. cit._, 30; L. Brockhoff, _op. cit._, 177f.; M. Heimbucher, _op. cit._, I, 415f.; P. Schmitz, _op. cit._, III, 18; and CMH, V, 668.

[111] P. Schmitz, _op. cit._, III, 18.

[112] [Clericis] "ab omni cura temporalium liberis injungimus, ut...divinis laudibus et contemplationi solummodo intendentes...spiritualia ministrent." PL 204, 1156f. See also _ibid._, 1154: "In hoc enim vestra et omnium eremitarum vita maxime debet constare, ut cum continuae orationis usu et silentio tumultum saeculi declinantes, in cellis vestris quiescatis." Cf. also PL 204, 1013, on the offices of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the dead, and the Holy Trinity--the

complete seclusion, to secure full concentration in the fight against the devil, in imitation of Christ's temptation in the desert. He was for the life of St. John the Baptist and considered his establishment a community of solitaries. Hence his ordinance, "Let them always remain in the desert and in solitude, dead and abject to the world."[113] For the tumult of the world is best avoided by "constant prayer...silence and solitary life." This is why

> once they have entered the solitude of the order, they never go back to this world, either on business or to visit their kinsfolk, or to make purchases at markets and fairs or to appear in courts of law, but they are as men who are dead to this world.[114]

In line with such thinking, they almost never admitted laymen to the divine office, and were opposed to the attendance of their Sunday services by outsiders whose duty was to go to their own parish church. Nor did they go out to preach, hear sermons, visit the sick or minister to the dying, for this, they felt, was the duty of parish priests.[115]

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latter with nine lessons--; as well as A. Lecler, "Histoire de l'abbaye de Grandmont," loc. cit., 141; and J. Leclercq, La spiritualité du Moyen Age, 181.

[113] "Velut mortui et abjecti a mundo semper maneant in solitudinis eremo." J. Hauréau, "Sur quelques écrivains de l'Ordre de Grandmont," loc. cit., 257. Cf. PL 204, 1154f. and 1025; and Jean Becquet, "Les institutions de l'Ordre de Grandmont au Moyen Age," Revue Mabillon, 42(1952), 34.

[114] R. Graham, English Ecclesiastical Studies, 214. Cf. PL 204, 1150ff.

[115] PL 204, 1141. Cf. ibid., 1142, "Nec etiam judicia

Seclusion was further ensured by strict poverty. In the words of his biographer, Stephen "following the footsteps of his Redeemer, loved poverty of the spirit in such a degree that he wished to call nothing his own on earth.[116] Dissatisfied with existing rules--which proscribed personal ownership but put no limits on community possessions--he also prohibited the acquisition of lands outside the enclosure as well as the possession of animals--whether received or bred made no difference--for this would require extra pastures and lands.[117] He and his followers also rejected proprietary churches, ministries, tithes, interests, leases of Church

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poenitentiae viris exterioribus injungere praesumatis; hujusmodi namque negotium nihil ad vestrum spectat propositum." See also PL 204, 1022f., 1151, 1155, and R. Graham, English Ecclesiastical Studies, 213.

[116] "Redemptoris sui sequens vestigia, paupertatem spiritus in tantum dilexit, quod in terra nihil fere voluit possidere." PL 204, 1008. Cf. M. Dmitrewski, op. cit., 73.

[117] "Omnes terrarum possessiones quae sunt extra metas locorum vestrorum, vobis tanquam peregrinis et hic manentem civitatem non habentibus sed futuram in coelis inquirentibus, ex toto interdicimus." PL 204, 1140f. See also, ibid., 1142f., "Omnis generis bestias vobis interdicimus...nihil enim vehementius religionem dissipat quam cupiditas et multitudo divitiarum." Cf. R. Graham, English Ecclesiastical Studies, 212; P. Schmitz, op. cit., III, 18; J. Becquet, "Les institutions de l'Ordre de Grandmont," loc. cit., 34; and idem, "La règle de Grandmont," loc. cit., 16ff.

lands, Mass stipends, mills and fixed revenues.[118] In view of this policy, they felt no need to keep charters.[119] If alms were withheld from them, they sought no redress, for they had resolved never to go to court.[120] This caused R. Gratien to remark, "the order of the hermits of Grandmont imposed the strictest curbs on riches: a forest they cleared for their sustenance is all they possess."[121] Very fittingly, Stephen called his followers "poor brethren" (a term later on changed by the faithful to "good men," boni homines).[122]

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[118] "Ecclesias et res ad ipsas pertinentes, praedicta ratione, scilicet qui cum caeteris mundanis eas amore divino reliquistis, vobis rehabere omnino prohibemus...Si quis autem ecclesias dare vobis voluerit, nullatenus accipiatis." PL 204, 1141f. Cf. J. Becquet, "Les institutions de l'Ordre de Grandmont," loc. cit., 34; and idem, "La règle de Grandmont," loc. cit., 16ff.

[119] "Vobis praecipimus, ut de rebus vobis datis vel dandis nunquam scriptum causa placitandi faciatis, nec etiam placitare praesumatis." PL 204, 1149. Cf. J. Becquet, "La règle de Grandmont," loc. cit., 18.

[120] "Memores consilii Jesu Christi dicentis Qui auferat quae tua sunt ne repetas (Lc. VI), numquam cum viris exterioribus judicio contendatis." PL 204, 1148. Cf. ibid., 1149f., "Firmissime vobis praecipimus ut numquam propter vestra vel aliena [negotia] cum aliquo placitare sive judicio contendere praesumatis, nec causas nec controversias aliorum in manu vestra recipiatis." See also R. Graham, English Ecclesiastical Studies, 213; and J. Becquet, "Les institutions de l'Ordre de Grandmont," loc. cit., 34.

[121] J. Becquet, "La règle de Grandmont," loc. cit., 19 n. 34.

[122] "Bonus homo debet semper loqui de Deo vel cum Deo; nam in oratione sua cum Deo, cum proximo loquitur de Deo." PL 204, 1102. Cf. A. Lecler, "Histoire de l'abbaye de Grandmont," loc. cit., 144; and P. Schmitz, op. cit., III, 18.

The Grammontensians denied themselves also in their diet. Whether sick or well, they never ate meat or lard, and fasted for more than seven months during the year. From mid-September to Easter they were satisfied with one daily meal, excepting only Sundays, the feast of All Saints and Christmas Day. From Septuagesima Sunday until Easter they even gave up eggs and cheese. They had two meals a day only from Easter to mid-September, usually after Sext and Vespers, unless there was a fast day.[123] In case they had no food in the house, they were to contact the local bishop. If no help was forthcoming and they had not eaten for two days, two brethren could go out and ask for alms at mills and houses, but they were not allowed to beg from their friends.[124]

Their habit--originally a coarse tunic with a scapular and hood, first brown, then black--displayed the same penitential spirit. According to the *Mirror of Grandmont*, "They wear sack cloth next to their skins that is clothing made of very coarse flax or hemp, and over that a brown tunic, a scapular or short cloak with a round hood, woolen gaiters and leather shoes."[125]

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[123] PL 204, 1158f. Cf. R. Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, 213f.

[124] PL 204, 1143 and 1145, Cf. R. Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, 213.

[125] PL 204, 1157. Cf. R. Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, 213; J. Hauréau, "Sur quelques écrivains de

One of the chief innovations made by Stephen was the exclusive authority given to the *conversi* in matters of administration, manual labor and contacts with the outside world. This he did in order to guarantee absolute seclusion and unhindered contemplation to the clerics. As *praeceptors*, the *conversi* were not to resort to domination, but called upon to fulfill the demands of fraternal charity.[126]

The reform of Stephen of Thiers is characterized by its extreme ascetical demands in matters of poverty and seclusion, and the unusual responsibilities given to the lay brothers in the administration of the house. Whether it ought to be classified as Benedictine, must be decided by Stephen's claim that he and his followers were neither canons nor monks nor hermits, and not by the spurious bull of Gregory VII which encouraged Stephen to found a new institution based on the ideals of St. Benedict.[127] Stephen's sojourn

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l'Ordre de Grandmont," *loc. cit.*, 257; and L. Brockhoff, *op. cit.*, 177.

[126] "Ne colloquio saecularium aut sollicitudine exteriorum divinum officum interrumpatur et mens eorumdem satietatis internae dulcedinis obliviscatur, ob hoc scilicet temporalem curam cellae solis conversis committimus qui in labore et in caeteris agendis aliis fratribus, clericis videlicet et conversis, non dominatione sed charitate praecipiant." PL 204, 1157. Cf. J. Leclercq, *La spiritualité du Moyen Age*, 180; M. Heimbucher, *op. cit.*, I, 416; K. Hallinger, "Woher kommen die Laienbrüder," *loc. cit.*, 9; R. Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, 212f.; J. Hauréau, "Sur quelques écrivains de l'Ordre de Grandmont,: *loc. cit.*, 257.

[127] PL 204, 1022f. Cf. *ibid.*, 1014f. For Pope Gregory's

in Calabria, the cultural and monastic crossroad between the Byzantine East and the Latin West at the time, certainly had its influence on his thinking and the revolutionary nature of his rule, with its incipient laicistic traits so strange to the Christian West.[128] Last but not least, the rejection of every kind of possessions is a further indication of the growth--from 1080 onward--of a movement protesting against all feudal forms ingrained in contemporary monastic life, a cause also championed by the founders of Cîteaux.[129]

The founder of the Carthusians, Bruno of

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letter see PL 148, 653ff. According to L. Delisle, this document is a forgery. "Examen des treize chartes de l'Ordre de Grandmont," Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, 20(1853), 172ff. and 188. Cf. A. Lecler, "Histoire de l'abbaye de Grandmont," loc. cit., 136f.; L. Brockhoff, op. cit., 177; and D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, 203.

[128] K. Hallinger, "Woher kommen die Laienbrüder," loc. cit., 9. In this connection G. Schreiber observes, "The strangeness of the regulations set up by him were felt only too well in the Christian West." Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 406.

[129] PL 204, 1014ff. Cf. K. Hallinger, "Woher kommen die Laienbrüder," loc. cit., 9. According to A. Louf, Stephen's doctrine "does not seem to have any literary connection with previous monastic sources. No doubt it is unique in this respect among the literature of that period, but it can be explained by the fact that Stephen was illiterate." Op. cit., 203f. This view, if correct--it is contradicted by PL 204, 1012ff.!--remains unsatisfactory. Cf. G. Schreiber, Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 406; and K. Hallinger, "Woher kommen die Laienbrüder," loc. cit., 9.

Cologne,[130] was born of noble parents around 1030. He obtained his higher education at Reims and developed a great love for scholarship in the process. In time he became a teacher of renown and rector of the cathedral school. As such he taught future clerics and produced a number of scholarly works, mostly on such biblical subjects, as the psalms and epistles of St. Paul. After two decades of successful teaching, archbishop Manasses appointed him chancellor of the archdiocese. Bruno's experiences with Manasses--an unscrupulous and worldly man who caused a great deal of trouble to Pope Gregory VII and his legate, Hugh of Lyons--his disappointment over the low morals of the clergy and the conviction that a truly Christian life is only possible apart from human society, caused him to resign his office and leave the world. When bidding farewell to Reims, he told his friends,

> Let us get out from the middle of Babylon, let us leave Pentapolis, already aflame through fire and sulphur, and seek, with St. John the Baptist, the caves of the desert,

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[130] *Vita antiquior*, PL 152, 482ff.; *Vita altera*, PL 152, 493ff.; *Vita tertia*, PL 152, 525. Cf. PL 156, 853; AS, Oct. III, 503ff.; Hermann Löbbel, *Der Stifter des Carthäuser-Ordens der heilige Bruno aus Köln* (Kirchengeschichtliche Studien, tom. V, fasc. 1; Münster in W.: Verlag Heinrich Schöning, 1899); Walter Nigg, *Vom Geheimnis der Mönche* (Zürich: Artemis Verlag, 1953), 180 and 183ff.; DCR, I, 848ff.; M. Heimbucher, *op. cit.*, I, 487ff.; and *The Book of Saints*, 177.

> in imitation of blessed Paul, Anthony, Arsenius, Evagrius and other saints.[131]

Then he went on to exhorthis listeners to embrace solitary life, i.e. a life of perpetual penance, to reject the riches, pleasures and honors of the world, to take on their crosses and follow the poor Christ in poverty on the narrow road which leads to eternal life. For the advantages of the desert are obvious from the lives of Christ, St. John the Baptist, Paul, Anthony, Hilarion, the two Macarii, Eulalius, Arsenius, Evagrius, Basil, Benedict and many others. Moveover, fervor in the chanting of psalms, spiritual reading, prayer, meditation, contemplation and the gift of tears can hardly be obtained outside the desert.[132]

Bruno and two companions--Peter and Lambert--then set out to find a "perfect solitude." They first went to Robert, abbot of Molesme. While not joining the monastery, they obtained permission to settle in a nearby forest, called Seche-Fontaine, where they "lived eremitically" and were soon joined by men with like ideas.[133] However, the place turned

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[131] "Exeamus de medio Babylonis, egrediamur Pentapolim, igne et sulphure jam succensum et exemplo beati Pauli eremitae, beatorum Antanii, Arsenii, Evagrii aliorumque sanctorum cum beato Joanne Baptista antra deserti quaeramus." PL 152, 484.

[132] PL 152, 484. Cf. also ibid., 421, "Quid vero solitudo eremique silentium amatoribus suis utilitatis jucunditatisque conferat, norunt hi solum, qui experti sunt;" and ibid., 499, "Solitudo namque est via quae ducit ad vitam." See also PL 152, 422. 485f. and 500.

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[133] As the various *funebres sancti tituli* attest, Bruno, before settling in the Grand Chartreuse, spent some time as a hermit in another "desert." PL 152, 559.569.574.592f. Cf. *ibid*., 250ff. and (Anon.), *Aux sources de la vie Cartusienne* (La Grande Chartreuse, 1960), 399ff. The same information is gathered from Bruno's life, "Et sancto eos ducente Spiritu... longo et molesto ac duro itinere ad beatissimum Hugonem, episcopum Gratianopolitanum se conferunt. In ipso autem itinere ad quemdam magnae religionis eremitam divertunt, ut ab eo, tamquam experto, discant de vita solitaria." PL 152, 532. According to J. Mabillon, this hermit leader was Robert, abbot of Molesme: "Quibusdam monumentis adducor, ut credam, illum magni nominis eremitam non alium esse quam Robertum abbatem Molismensem. Extat in illius monasterii tabulario Rainardi de Barro et Joannis de Laniaco charta, qua 'terram apud Siccam-Fontanam, labore hominum partim jam complanatam' laudante Valentino comite Brenensi et Barrensi, cujus 'hoc casamentum' erat, ecclesiae Molismensi conferunt. Cum vero ecclesia loci illius quam aedificaverant Petrus et Lambertus discipuli magistri Brunonis, qui cum eo in territorio illo erant, et eremitice vixerant, a domno Roberto Lingonensi episcopo in honore beatae semper virginis Mariae dedicaretur, atriumque benediceretur, praedictus comes et idem Raynardus et Acelinus cum multis aliis praesentes fuerant." PL 152, 251. This occured around 1081. Cf. PL 152, 251; J. Mabillon, *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti*, V, 205; and *Aux sources de la vie Cartusienne*, 116 and 139. In the eighteenth century, the Theatine Tracy questioned the validity of Mabillon's conclusions on eremitic life at Sèche-Fontaine, insisting that the documentary evidence does not justify them. Cf. *Aux sources de la vie Cartusienne*, 120. Modern research however vindicated the great Maurist. Cf. *Aux sources de la vie Cartusienne*, 126ff.; Jacques Laurent, *Cartulaires de Molesme* (Paris: Alphons Picard & Fils, 1907-1911), I, 24.75f. and II, 134. Moreover, some historians interpreted several of the funeral rolls written after Bruno's death in the sense that Bruno was for a time a monk of Molesme. Cf. PL 152, 251 nn. 47, 68, 139, 143. See also *ibid*., 559, 569, 574, 592f.; H. Löbbel, *op. cit*., 100; and *Aux sources de la vie Cartusienne*, 117f. and 139f. This view, too, is untenable, as convincingly demonstrated in *Aux sources de la vie Cartusienne*, 125 and 133f. The present state of the question can therefore be summarized, as follows: (1) Bruno, Peter and Lambert settled down, as a group, at Seche-Fontaine and lived eremitically;

turned out to be inadequate, whereupon Bruno and five of his companions left Sèche-Fontaine and began to look for "a place suited for eremitic life."[134] Urged on by Seguin, abbot of La Chaise Dieu, and with the permission of Hugh, bishop of Grenoble, a former student at Reims, Bruno then retired to a spacious and uninhabited wilderness in the rugged mountains of the Dauphiné, some six leagues from Grenoble. From the name of the place the settlers were called Carthusians. They started regular life on June 24,--the feast of St. John the Baptist--1084.[135] They had hardly mastered their first difficulties when an unexpected blow struck them: In 1090, Pope Urban II, Bruno's former pupil, summoned his old teacher to Rome, to assist him with his counsels. Obedience triumphed

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(2) their ways parted after some time, i.e. when Bruno left for the Grande Chartreuse; (3) Peter and Lambert opted for cenobitic life, stayed at Sèche-Fontaine and constructed a chapel with the consent of Molesme; (4) the edifice was solemnly donated to Molesme on the day of its dedication, in 1086, by Robert, bishop of Langres; (5) a sojourn of Bruno at Molesme prior to his retirement to Sèche-Fontaine seems improbable. Cf. Aux sources de la vie Cartusienne, 136. See also PL 152, 255. Information on Sèche-Fontaine in general is found in Aux sources de la vie Cartusienne, 112. For possible reasons why Bruno left Sèche-Fantaine, see H. Löbbel, op. cit., 101; J. Laurent, op. cit., I, 125; and Aux sources de la vie Cartusienne, 140, 142 and 145.

[134] "Quaerebant vero locum eremiticae vitae congruum, necdumque repererant." PL 152, 533. Cf. ibid.,255, and PL 153, 769.

[135] "Ascenderunt in montem et intraverunt ac inhabitare coeperunt dictam eremum Carthusiae circa solemnitatem nativitatis sancti Joannis Baptistae, anno salutis nostrae supra millesimum octogesimo quarto." PL 152, 508. Cf. J. Laurent, op. cit., I, 126.

in Bruno, even though this meant the temporary end of his foundation, for some of his disciples dispersed in all directions, while others went after their master in Rome. Bruno, far from happy to see them in the Eternal City, prevailed on them to return to their charterhouse which had been taken over in the meantime by Seguin, but was returned to its former owners on the Pope's order. Bruno's request to be permitted to return to his foundation was always refused; but he was given permission to retire to a solitude in Italy, in order to be at hand when needed by the Pope. This and the generosity of local lords enabled Bruno to make his second foundation, La Torre, in Calabria. From there he wrote to his followers in France, "With religious confreres, some of them learned men,...I inhabit the desert, greatly removed, on all sides, from the dwellings of men." He also exhorted his spiritual sons to observe the rigors of the rule, to practice humility, patience and true charity in all things, and to flee, like a pest, the ill-boding company of laymen.[136] His desire of seeing his old foundation once more was never fulfilled, not even after the death of Urban II, for by then old age and infirmities had weakened his body. These caused his death, at the age of seventy, on October 6, 1101. The death notice sent out by La Torre reached also Molesme and Cîteaux in Burgundy; both added their elogium, and the former also indicated that Bruno had been "very familiar" to its members.[137] The deceased was canonized by Pope Leo X in 1514.

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[136] "In finibus autem Calabriae cum fratribus religiosis, et aliquot bene eruditis...eremum incolo ab hominum habitatione satis undique remotam." PL 152, 421. Cf. ibid., 419, "Morbidum gregem quorumdam vanissimorum laicorum ut pestem vitate."

Bruno and his companions had left Sèche-Fontaine, not because Molesme was decadent--it was barely a few years old--but because they needed a more suitable solitude for their eremitic ideal. After unsuccessful efforts elsewhere, they obtained, through the help of the bishop of Grenoble the solitude of Cartusia, a wild and uninhabited desert enclosed by high mountains, open only to wild animals. Because of the rocky terrain and cold climate it had only fruitless trees so that it offered few hopes for sowing and harvesting.[138] Here they constructed their hermitage. They built a chapel and round it, adjacent to a river, small separate cells connected by a closed passageway.[139] According to Guigo, the fifth prior of La Grande Chartreuse, "they lived in twos in master Bruno's time".[140] They spent their time in prayer, contemplation, silence, reading and manual labor, mostly in the form of transcribing books.[141]

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[137] "Nostris versiculis, qui habitamus Molernium, addentes vobis, qui estis Turri, innotescimus, quod pro domino Brunone, patrono vestro, nostro autem familiarissimo, Missarum solemnia diebus triginta celebravimus, ejus etiam obitus anniversarium diem in catalogo fratrum nostrorum conscripsimus." PL 152, 567. Cîteaux's entrance is found ibid., 565.

[138] "Quaerebant vero locum eremiticae vitae congruum." PL 152, 533. On bishop Hugh's intervention, see, PL 152, 485f. 503f. 532ff. and 153, 769. The place itself is described in PL 152, 269ff. 505f. and 534. See also PL 156, 854.

The fact that Bruno accepted the place offered to him shows that he wished to give a stable organization to his fellow hermits, going beyond the father-son and master-disciple relationship. To this came such considerations as the nature of the soil which could provide only for a limited number of religious, and the topography, excluding any possibility of local expansion. In view of these and also to facilitate gatherings--e.g. for Mass--he utilized certain cenobitic features in his organizational make-up. The solution was to bring the cells closer to each other than had been the case in Egypt, and to connect them with a corridor. In the description of Guibert of Nogent, an early visitor, "though they had a cloister suited for cenobitic life, they did not live claustrally, like the rest of the monks. For they have separate cells in a circularly built cloister, where they work, sleep and eat."[142] A later visitor, Peter the Venerable, observed that "they permanently live in individual cells, after the manner of the old Egyptian monks." In these, Peter the Venerable continued, "they devote themselves to silence, reading, prayer and manual labor."[143]

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[139] "Aedificare coeperunt ecclesiam necnon et parvas cellulas, non longe a dicta ecclesia distantes, circa quemdam fontem, qui usque in praesentem diem vocatur fons Brunonis, de se tamen invicem distinctas et aliquantulum separatas, ne alter alterius solitudinem impediret." PL 152, 508. Cf. ibid., 535.

[140] "Bini quippe tunc per singulas inhabitabant cellas apud magistrum Brunonem." PL 153, 770. Cf. also PL 152, 535, "In iis cellulis singulis bini fratres degebant." This, it seems, was not in imitation of Italian eremitic practices, as some believe, but simply the result of limited facilities. In any case, long before Guigo's time the Carthusians began to live alone in their individual cells. Cf. Aux sources de la vie Cartusienne, 174ff. and 187; and PL 156, 854.

[141] "Ubi silentio, lectioni, orationi atque operi manuum, maxime in conscribendis libris jugiter insistebant." PL 152, 508. Cf. ibid., 535, "Silentio, orationi, lectioni, cordis puritati et rerum divinarum contemplationi vacabant, certis etiam horis operi manuum, praesertim conscribendis libris, incumbentes."

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[142] "Tredecim sunt monachi, claustrum quidem satis idoneum pro coenobiali consuetudine habentes, sed non claustraliter, ut ceteri, cohabitantes. Habent quippe singuli cellulas per gyrum claustri proprias, in quibus operantur, dormiunt ac vescuntur." PL 156, 854. Cf. Aux sources de la vie Cartusienne, 196f. See also ibid., 161ff., 165ff., 171, 179 and 187f.; W. Nigg, op. cit., 187f.; Ian C. Hannah, Christian Monasticism A Great Force in History (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1925), 118.

[143] "More antiquo Aegyptiorum monachorum, singulares cellas perpetuo inhabitant. Ubi silentio, lectioni, orationi, atque operi manuum, maxime in scribendis libris, irrequieti insistunt." PL 189, 945. According to Stephen of Obazine, who visited the Carthusians between the years a. 1032-1035, "Habitatio eorum montaneis hyemalibus cingitur; cellulae ipsorum quinque cubitis a se invicem disterminantur." Aux sources die la vie Cartusienne, 192. Cf. ibid., 189 and 191.

It seems, already in Bruno's time the Carthusians said Matins and Vespers in common and recited the remaining canonical hours in their cells. On Sundays and certain feasts they had Mass in common, "after the manner of the ancient hermits."[144] Their liturgy was simple and--indebted to the usages of the order of St. Rufus in Reims--differed from the Roman rite. Simplicity extended to their chapel which had a wooden altar and silver--i.e. less valuable--chalices.[145]

Having no abbots, the Carthusians were governed by priors. They considered Hugh of Grenoble as their abbot. All his life "he was to them not a lord or bishop, but a

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In this connection, Guibert also informs us that the Carthusians used sign language. "Nusquam pene loquuntur, nam si quid peti necesse est, signo exigitur." PL 156, 854. Cf. H. Workman, op. cit., 251 and I, Hannah, op. cit., 118.

[144] "Officium divinum, diurnum pariter et nocturnum, tam in ecclesia, diebus et horis illis quibus in eam conveniebant, quam per cellas, non perfunctorie, ut quidam, sed intentissime, oculis in terram demissis, cordibus vero in coelum fixis, devotissime persolvebant...Diebus vero dominicis et certis sanctorum festivitatibus tantum antiquorum eremitarum more, ne ab aliis sacris operibus, licet dignitate inferioribus, impedirentur, missae sacrificium offerebant, quo omnes pariter conveniebant. Et ipsis diebus in refectorio simul ad ritum monachorum comedebant." PL 152, 510. Cf. PL 156, 854; PL 189, 945; and Aux sources de la vie Cartusienne, 197.

[145] PL 156, 854; H. Löbbel, op. cit., 123f.; M. Dmitrewski, op. cit., 72; Aux sources de la vie Cartusienne, 198; and B. Bligny, "Les premiers Chartreux et la pauvreté," loc. cit., 37.

most humble associate and brother, always ready to help them, as far as lay in his power."[146]

To practice abjection, the Carthusians wore a coarse white habit which was rather short and tight. To this they always added a hair shirt as an effective means to castigate and subdue their body.[147]

Their diet was equally poor. On Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays they fasted on bran bread--they never ate white bread--salt and water. On Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays they also had vegetables or fruits, and watered wine, and on Sundays, Thursdays and great feasts also eggs and some cheese. They never bought fish, but served it on non-fast days if it had been donated to them. On Sundays the procurator handed out their weekly supply of vegetables which they cooked in their cells, as did the hermits of old. On Sundays and great feasts they had their meals in common: one after Sext, the other after Vespers.[148]

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[146] "Erat eis non ut dominus et episcopus, sed ut socius et frater humillimus, et ad cunctorum, quantum in ipso, erat, obsequia paratissimus." PL 153, 769f. Cf. H. Löbbel, op. cit., 125. See also PL 156, 854, "Sub priore agunt, vices autem abbatis ac provisoris Gratianopolitanus episcopus vir plurimum religiosus exsequitur."

[147] "Fecerunt sibi vestes breves et angustas de grosso panno albo, vili et rudi quae eos contemptibiles intuentibus redderent et abjectos." PL 152, 509. Cf. PL 156, 854 and PL 189, 944. See also B. Bligny, "Les premiers Chartreux et la pauvreté," loc. cit., 41.

Bruno's ideal was, to use a contemporary expression, to follow the destitute Christ in destitution, i.e. on the narrow road which leads to heaven.[149] According to some authors, Bruno left Sèche-Fontaine and retired to the desert of Cartusia precisely because it excluded the danger of donations.[150] To this came the early Carthusians' resolve to accept no possessions outside their enclosure--by the time the Carthusian usages were put in writing this included lands, vineyards, gardens, churches, cemeteries, oblations, tithes, etc.--and to limit their own number to 12 monks, a prior, 16 conversi and a few hired servants, and the number of animals according to this number.[151] Poverty, however, was not an end in itself, as had been the case with other contemporary reforms; it was an instrument of the spiritual life, enabling the solitary to engage in undisturbed contemplation, whereas extreme want could have forced him to leave his cell and go begging.[152]

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[148] PL 152, 509; PL 156, 854; PL 189, 944f. See also H. Löbbel, op. cit., 124 and 129; and Aux sources de la vie Cartusienne, 197.

[149] "Ad perpetuam poenitentiam peragendam eremi deserta competentia quaerere, et ibidem relictis omnibus divitiis et deliciis et honoribus hujus mundi, accipere singulas cruces suas et nudi nudum Christum sequi per arctam viam, quae ducit ad vitam." PL 152, 485. Cf. ibid., 1259.

[150] J. Laurent, op. cit., I, 126.

[151] "Contra cupiditatem quae radix omnium malorum dicitur et avaritiam quae idolorum servitus unucupatur, certos terminos juxta locorum suorum fertilitatem aut sterilitatem majores minoresve praefixerant, ita ut extra eos, etiamsi totus mundus eis offerretur, nec saltem, quantum pes humanus occupare potest, licet possidere. Certum etiam numerum, quem transgredi nullo modo liceret, animalibus et pecoribus imposuerunt. Et ut non esset eis quandoque necessarium, vel plus

When in their cells, the Carthusians observed silence and devoted their time to prayer, spiritual reading and manual labor. In early times they did not engage in farming. Instead they worked on the plots adjoining their cells, and raised and sold animals. From the beginning they transcribed books as a form of labor, partly to provide for their own needs, but also to counter the charge that they undertook no labors for the Church. In this connection Guibert of Nogent remarked, "While they wholly deprive themselves in all phases of poverty, they have accumulated a very rich library."[153]

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terrae quam dictum est possessioni suae addere, aut pecorum numerum augere, duodecim tantum monachos cum tertio decimo priore, ac sexdecim conversis paucisque mercenariis, nullo prorsus superaddito, in suis domibus esse perpetuo decreverunt." PL 152, 509. Cf. PL 153, 719f.; PL 189, 944; and B. Bligny, "Les premiers Chartreux et la pauvreté," loc. cit., 56.

[152] B. Bligny, "Les premiers Chartreux et la pauvreté," loc. cit., 55ff.

[153] "Cum in omnimoda paupertate se deprimant, ditissimam tamen bibliothecam coaggerant." PL 156, 854. Cf. PL 152, 535, "Vacabant certis etiam horis operi manuum, praesertim conscribendis libris incumbentes, tum ut suae inopiae consulerent, tum etiam ut ne quam darent occasionem illis qui

Already when settling Cartusia, Bruno had "two laics, whom we call conversi,"[154] in his company. Also in the letter he wrote from Calabria he expressly mentioned lay brothers.[155] This indicates that the Carthusians had lay brothers already between the years 1084 and 1090. Their raison d'ètre was to ensure undistrubed contemplation to the hermits. They lived apart from the hermit community and followed, because of their work, a somewhat different schedule under the direction of the procurator.[156]

Since Bruno wrote no rule, his followers simply emulated his example. In time, however, they put their practices in writing, when Guigo, the fifth prior of the Grand Chartreuse, codified the Carthusian usages at the request of the

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quaerunt occasionem, sanctum eorum institutum calumniandi, quod nullam Ecclesiae Dei navarent operam, sed suis dumtaxat rebus studerent." Cf. also PL 156, 855; Aux sources de la vie Cartusienne, 163; H. Löbbel, op. cit., 128; W. Nigg, op. cit., 196; and CMH, V, 670.

[154] "Magister Bruno...habebat autem socios...duos laicos, quos appellamus conversos, Andream et Guarinum." PL 153, 769.

[155] "De vobis, dilectissimis fratribus meis laicis dico: Magnificat anima mea Dominum." PL 152, 418f.

[156] "Sunt infra montem illum habitacula laicos vicenarium numerum excedentes fidelissimos retinentia, qui sub eorum agunt diligentia." PL 156, 855f. Cf. PL 153, 747f.; H. Löbbel, op. cit., 129; and E. Werner, Pauperes Christi, 198f. See also M. Heimbucher, op. cit., I, 486.

superiors of the order.[157] How "Benedictine" are these usages? According to Mabillon, Bruno "proposed nothing outside the Benedictine rule."[158] This view is supported by Guigo's statement that the Carthusian practices are based on the letters of St. Jerome and the Rule of St. Benedict,[159] and that "in the divine office they--the Carthusians and the Benedictines--have many things in common, especially in the psalmody."[160] The Carthusians also adopted the Benedictine formula for taking the vows.[161] Finally, the acts of Bruno's canonization call Benedict the father of the Carthusians. The latter celebrated St. Benedict's office in Mabillon's time, and do the same today.[162]

Boso the nineteenth prior of Grande Chartreuse (d. 1313), defended his order against the accusation that it had no rule of its own.

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[157] Guigonis Carthusiae Prioris Quinti Consuetudines; PL 153, 635ff. Cf. M. Heimbucher, op. cit., I, 484f.; L. Brockhoff, op. cit., 184; and W. Nigg, op. cit., 195ff.

[158] "Non alia ab eo praeter Benedictinam proposita regula." Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti, V, 218.

[159] PL 153, 637f.

[160] "In [officio divino] cum caeteris monachis multum, maxime in Psalmodia regulari, concordes invenimur." PL 153, 639f.

[161] PL 153, 685ff. Cf. also B. Bligny, "Les premiers Chartreux et la pauvreté," loc. cit., 52f.

[162] PL 152, 296.

> It is clear from these [Guigo's] statutes--he pointed out--that the things described therein are either from the Rule of St. Benedict or the letters of St. Jerome, or from the Sayings of the Fathers, the Lives of the Fathers, the books of Cassian and other holy doctors of the Church...The Carthusian order could not simply adopt any of the aforesaid rules, for all are, or were, destined for common and cenobitic life. As for eremitic life: there is the praiseworthy and hallowed rule composed and edited by Peter Damian in a most eloquent style; but even this the Carthusians would not or could not adopt, for, as we have shown above, the life of the Carthusians, although it must be termed eremitic in its greater and worthier part, is a composite of solitary and community life.[163]

J. Leclercq saw Bruno's creation this way:

> It is a solitary life, but cenobitism is not excluded; it is a return to the program of the Fathers of the desert, but it is not a copy of their way of life. Attention is given to tradition, to all the experiences accumulated by the Benedictine centuries.[164]

To the question whether Bruno wished to found a new order, the answer is probably "No." He was a humble priest who left the world because he was concerned with his own salvation. He could have stayed and established his authority at Sèche-Fontaine, but left instead for the Grande Chartreuse; this indicates that he did not bind himself by the vow of stability, but wished to preserve his personal freedom. Also, when summoned to Rome, he simply left his foundation, a thing that would not have been possible had he been the head of a new order with precise rules. And in Rome itself he did not join a monastic community, but chose a life in solitude. Yet after Bruno was joined by disciples, he must have wished or felt the need to perpetuate the observances of the Grande Chartreuse.[165] Thus, as in other eleventh-century reforms, the initiatives of a religious leader produced a reform center which eventually developed into a new order. This was based on parts of the Benedictine Rule and the works of Jerome, Cassian and other Fathers of the Desert. It called for a genuinely eremitic life in the best tradition of the Egyptian anchorites strengthened by cenobitic forms. This is why the Carthusians were headed by a prior, not an abbot, and had an upper house for the contemplative hermits and a lower house for the lay brothers. According to H. Löbbel, a biographer of the not too distant past,

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[163] "Patet namque in eisdem statutis quod illa quae ibi scripta sunt, aut sunt de regula B. Benedicti, aut de epistolis B. Hieronymi, aut de collationibus Patrum seu de Vitis Patrum, vel etiam de libris Cassiani et aliorum sanctorum doctorum Ecclesiae...Sed ordo Carthusiensis nullam potuit assumere de his praedictis, quia omnes praedictae regulae sunt vel fuerunt de vita communi et coenobitica instituta; de vita vero eremitica invenitur regula laudabilis et devota a Petro Damiano stylo eloquentissimo edita et digesta, sed nec illam potuerunt et noluerunt Carthusienses assumere, quia vita Carthusiensium, ut supra ostensum est, quamvis a majori et digniori parte sit eremitica judicanda, tamen est composita ex solitaria et communi." PL 152, 302f.

[164] La spiritualité du Moyen Age, 197.

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[165] H. Löbbel, _op. cit._, 104ff. Cf. also _Aux sources de la vie Cartusienne_, 199.

> Original in Bruno is only the combination of the two ways of life; the basic characteristic [of his reform] was to be eremitic life; but he was convinced that the individual could attain perfection only as a member of a greater unit, and his aim was to make the spiritual forces of community life available for the personal needs of the individual.[166]

Lastly, there is the question whether Bruno took the architectural layout of the canons' quarters in Reims as a model for his charterhouse. There are undeniable similarities between the two, but, on the other hand, also a number of basic differences. For one, life in the desert was poor and certainly more strict than in the residences of canons who lived in the city and knew material wealth. Moreover the Carthusians fasted frequently and were satisfied with poor and meager meals which they ate in silence, even on Sundays. Then, their office differed from that of the canons. They had superiors and took vows, including the vow of obedience, which, again, was not the case at Reims.[167] Nor could Bruno simply copy Camaldoli and its setup, for his means and resources were very limited in the desert of Chartreuse. The numerus clausus, too, would have frustrated such designs. Then there was the need for occasional, but regular, meetings of the hermits. These considerations were probably responsible for the fact that the cells were built close to each other and connected by a corridor.[168]

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[166] _Op. cit._, 237. Cf. _ibid._, 117. According to C. LeCouteulx, "Bruno...sibi suisque sociis duo praecipue in Christo admiranda proposuit et elegit:unum est vitae austeritas, alterum arctissima solitudo." _Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis ab anno 1084 ad annum 1429_ (Monstrolii: Typis Cartusiae S. Mariae de Pratis, 1887-1891), I, 4.

[167] _Aux sources de la vie Cartusienne_, 195f.

Bruno's contribution to monastic history was the application of cenobitic elements to eremitic monachism. It was a successful formula which soon found its way across national boundries and survived to the present, fully deserving the epithet, "Numquam reformata, quia numquam deformata," "Never reformed, because never deformed."[169]

The new monastic foundations of the eleventh century, though displaying numerous and great individual variations, had a number of common characteristics. These were not necessarily the result of a direct or indirect dependence, but simply grew out of the contemporary milieu--described, in some detail, in the preceding chapters--well-prepared for such undertakings.

One of the most obvious features of the new institutions--whether eremitic or cenobitic is not the point in question here--was the cultivation of solitude for a number of theological and ascetical reasons. This called not only for a secession from populous areas, for a physical and pastoral withdrawal from society, but also implied a wholesale disengagement from the contemporary feudal world with all its implications, in a direct challenge to the Cluniac and similarly patterned establishments.

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[168] Ibid., 164f., 172, 177ff. Cf. H. Löbbel, op. cit., 116ff.

[169] W. Nigg, op. cit., 183 and 193. For a reconstruction of Bruno's personality, see Aux sources de la vie Cartusienne, 389ff.

This challenge could hardly take effect without a very real shift from a what may be called liturgical asceticism (à la Cluny) to a more physical and personalized asceticism. The latter was applied to practically every human need (food, clothing, sleep, etc.), and it greatly stressed individual as well as communal poverty in matters of land, and other possessions, including sacred vessels and church furnishings.

The new poverty ideal, and certainly also the growing influence of Eastern monachism, brought about the introduction of the institution of lay brothers (conversi), to free the monks (and hermits) from field work and other temporal concerns, so that they may better concentrate on their prayer life. In view of the still strong appeal of the Cluniac laus perennis ideal, however, manual labor, though re-emerging and claiming its rightful place, did not reach "full growth" before the Cistercian solution.

Finally, there were undeniable attempts to define the organizational bonds linking the various houses of a particular reform or observance. Subsequent reformers were able to perfect these endeavors.

Since, in one way or another, the common features of the monastic reforsm of the eleventh century were all present in the reforms of early Cîteaux, it can already be pointed out that, contrary to previous thinking, Cîteaux was not a reform without antecedents or forebears.

CHAPTER VII

MOLESME, THE HOME OF CITEAUX

The new religious orders which emerged in the second half of the eleventh century were not simply the creations of outstanding religious leaders, but also products of a number of other factors. These include a favorable monastic climate, the popularity of certain ideas and, in general, a definite readiness for contemporary answers to questions of the time. The same can be said about the beginnings of Molesme and Cîteaux: these monastic centers owe their existence not only to the brilliance and vision of a single spiritual and religious giant--St. Robert of Molesme--but also to the interactions of a great many monastic, religious, ascetical, theological and sociological factors treated at length in the preceding chapters of this dissertation. Molesme and Citeaux mark the logical termination of all these forces at work; a study of their origins will therefore be the obvious and proper conclusion of our present investigation.

The pioneers of Cîteaux had not gathered by accident or come from every direction of the horizon; they were all members of the renowned Burgundian abbey of Molesme, established in 1075. So was their leader, St. Robert, the abbot and founder of Molesme. This in itself shows the importance of Molesme in the foundation of Cîteaux. The Cistercians, though they did not consider Molesme their "mother" in their system of filiation, always admitted that Molesme had generated Cîteaux "according to the flesh" or, in the words of their general chapter held in 1225, from it, "as if a sacred root, issued the holy founders [of Cîteaux]."[1] The consideration of Robert's life and of the pre-Cistercian history of Molesme is therefore indispensible for the right understanding--incomplete though it may be--of the motives and events that led to the foundation of Cîteaux at the close of the eleventh century.

The son of noble parents named Theodoric and Ermengarde, Robert was born around the year 1028 in the Champagne.[2]

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[1] "Venerabili patri abbati Molismensi, de cuius domo tamquam de radice sancta prodierunt sancti patres, a quibus totius Ordinis religio pullulavit, conceditur..." Josephus M. Canivez, *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 and annum 1786* (Louvain: Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, 1934), II, 37.

[2] The critical edition of Robert's life was produced by Kolumban Spahr, *Das Leben des hl. Robert von Molesme. Eine Quelle zur Vorgeschichte von Cîteaux* (Freiburg in der Schweiz: Paulusdruckerei, 1944). The *vita* is also found in PL 157, 1268ff. and AS, Apr. III, 670ff. Further sources are Chrysostomus Henriquez, *Fasciculus sanctorum Ordinis Cisterciensis* (Bruxellis: apud J. Pepermann, 1623), 4ff.; Laurentius Surius, *De probatis sanctorum vitis* (Coloniae Agrippinae: apud Geruinum Calenium et haeredes Quentelios, 1570ff.);

According to M. Chaume, he was related to the counts of Tonnerre and to Raynald, the viscount of Beaune, a fact of great importance in the foundation of Molesme and Cîteaux.[3] After devoting some time to the study of letters, Robert joined the abbey of Montier-la-Celle in Troyes, then governed by abbot Bernard. In the monastery he led a life wholly

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(Edouard Hautcoeur), *Vies de saint Robert et de saint Albéric premier et second abbés de Cîteaux* (Lérins: Imprimérie Marie-Bernard, 1875); Séraphine Lenssen, "Saint-Robert Fondateur de Cîteaux," *Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorum*, 4(1937), 2ff., 81ff., and 161ff., *idem*, *Le fondateur de Cîteaux, Saint Robert* (Westmalle: Imprimérie de l'Ordre Cistercien, 1937), Jean B. Van Damme, *Les trois fondateurs de Cîteaux* (Pain de Cîteaux, 29; Chambarand: Privately printed, 1966), Watkin Williams, "St. Robert of Molesme," *Monastic Studies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1938), 121ff., Jean Lefèvre, "S. Robert de Molesme dans l'opinion monastique du XIIe et du XIIIe siècles," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 74(1956), 50ff., E. Petit, *op. cit*., I, 182ff., J. Laurent, *op. cit*., I, 146ff., O. Ducourneau, *op. cit*., 33ff., J. Mahn, *op. cit*., 40f., *The Book of Saints*, 511, LTK, VIII(1936), 921f. See, in addition, the bibliography cited by K. Spahr, *Das Leben des hl. Robert*, XI-XIV. For an evaluation of Robert's *vita* cf. *ibid*., XV-XLVII and S. Lenssen, *op. cit*.,

[3] K. Spahr, *Das Leben des hl. Robert*, XLIV. Cf. also E. Petit, *op. cit*., I, 183 n. 1. J. Laurent writes on this point, "Whenever he (Robert) is on a mission or makes a foundation, from Troyes to Tonnerre, at Molesme or at Cîteaux, he is protected and even aided by the prelates and the baronial descendants of the ancient house of Vergy, or the Milonides, or the Mainier; hence the Malignys, the viscounts of Beaune, the lords of Mont-Saint-Jean, and of Couches in particular should be the cousins of the great abbot." *Abbayes et prieurés de l'ancienne France* Tome douzième: *Province ecclésiastique de Lyon* Troisième partie: *Diocèses de Langres et de Dijon* (Archives de la France Monastique, vol. XLV; Paris: Librairie Picard, 1941), 299ff. Cf. also C. Henriquez, *op. cit*., 4 and W. Parker Mason, "The Beginnings of the Cistercian Order," *loc. cit*., 182 n. 2, and K. Spahr, *Das Leben des hl. Robert*, XLIV.

dedicated to God, with fasts and prayers spanning night and day. Not earlier than 1053 he was appointed prior of the monastery at the expressed wish of the brethren. Next, i.e. soon after 1068, he became the abbot of Saint-Michel-de-Tonnerre, in the diocese of Langres, which had been restored by William of Dijon around the year 980 and followed the customs of Cluny as interpreted by the abbey of Saint Benignus in Dijon.[4] Robert, the fifth abbot of the place--after William of Dijon, Letbald, Hunald I and Hunald II (1057-1068)--was by this time a man well known for his sanctity. As it turned out, however, the latter proved insufficient to enforce his authority over the monks and to improve monastic discipline in the abbey. Robert thereupon returned, not later than 1072, to the monastery of his profession.[5] In his original monastery Robert led the life of a simple monk; but not for long. Around 1072 he became, by election or nomination, prior of Saint Ayoul[6] at Provins in the diocese of Sens, a direct dependency of Montier-la-Celle. The priory had been founded in 1048 by Thibaut, count of Blois and Tonnerre, who gave it to Montier-la-Celle with the stipulation that a monastic community take charge of the church of Saint-Ayoul, situated outside the walls of Provins, and restore the divine service which had been discontinued. Robert headed Saint-Ayoul as its second prior only for a short while, between the years 1072 and 1074. Then, on papal orders, he assumed the leadership of the already mentioned hermits of Collan who needed an instructor in regular discipline, if the information of Robert's anonymous biographer from the early thirteenth century is correct. As this biographer further reports, Robert heeded the call because he

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[4] Bruno Schneider, "Cîteaux und die benediktinische Tradition. Die Quellenfrage des Liber Usuum im Lichte der Consuetudines Monasticae," Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, 17(1961), 107f. For Robert's stay at Tonnerre, see AS, Apr. III, 670; A. Manrique, op. cit., I, 1f.; GCh IV, 613f., 712ff.; H. Hélyot, op. cit., I, 921; E. Sackur, op. cit., I, 262, 267 n. 2 and 268f.; R. Graham, "The Relation of Cluny to Some Other Movements of Monastic Reform," loc. cit., 188; W. Parker Mason, "The Beginnings of the Cistercian Order," loc. cit., 171 n. 4; K. Spahr, Das Leben des hl. Robert, 8 n. 1, 9, XVI and XLIVf.; K. Hallinger, op. cit., II, 847; W. Williams, Monastic Studies, 125; and L. Henri Cottineau, Répertoire Topo-bibliographique des abbayes et des prieurés (Macôn: Frères Protât, 1935), II, 3170.

[5] Cf. PL 66, 134ff. and 148ff. See also K. Spahr, Das Leben des hl. Robert, XLIV.--There is a great similarity between this incident and the events recorded by St. Gregory

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from the life of St. Benedict, and it may create further questions about the real causes and circumstances of Robert's return to Montier-la-Celle. Perhaps his monks' refusal that he take charge of some seven hermits in the forest of Collan, situated between Tonnerre and Chablis, added its weight to Robert's decision.

[6] On Saint-Ayoul see, Jean Godefroy, "L'histoire du prieuré de Saint-Ayoul de Provins et le récit des miracles du saint," Revue Mabillon, 27(1937), 94ff., and 28(1938), 84ff. and 112ff.; Cottineau, II, 2603; GCh IV, Instr. 25 and XII, Instr. 251; J. Laurent, op. cit., I, 206; and K. Spahr, Das Leben des hl. Robert, 10 n. 1, XVII and XLV.

could hope that his labors would not be in vain, since the hermits were of one mind in the rejection of earthly matters and in the seeking of the things of heaven, and would therefore also have the right concept of obedience.[7] To this came the fact that Saint-Ayoul was situated in a steadily growing city, with lively marketplaces, where constant encounters with laymen could hardly be avoided. Such surroundings and such a state of affairs could never satisfy Robert's aspirations. "This is in all likelihood the reason why he left /Saint-Ayoul/ in search of a solitary place where, delivered from these bustlings, he could lead an integral and genuine monastic life."[8] It may also be added that, in the words of an extant summary of Robert's life, the envoys of the hermits of Collan did not specify whom they wished for their master, but Robert, knowing his abbot's feelings and judging that he could be of service to the hermits, made himself available. According to Séraphine Lenssen, by leaving the abbey of Tonnerre in order to join the hermits of Collan, Robert clearly showed his preference for the latters' way of life. He aspired to a life of greater asceticism than was practiced in contemporary monasteries and sought a community free of secular interference, a thing unheard-of in a monastic world so closely tied to feudalism.[9]

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[7] K. Spahr, Das Leben des hl. Robert, 10f.

[8] J. Godefroy, "L'histoire du prieuré de Saint-Ayoul," loc. cit., 99.

Collan[10] had been the property of Robert's relatives, the house of Maligny, a younger branch of the counts of Tonnerre, which held a considerable part of the Tonnerrois in alodial tenure. This may well have been a factor in Robert's secession to Collan and in the subsequent donation of Molesme to Robert by his relatives, the Maligny family. The hermitage had been started by a priest who was soon joined by two brothers converted--supposedly by Robert--after a duel, and, subsequently, by four others. Their life, made up of private ascetical practices, lacked all communal organization. After the takeover in 1073 or 1074, Robert acquainted them with Benedictine life and monastic customs in general. His personal life, based on abnegation in imitation of the apostles in the early Church, greatly aided the undertaking. The result was that "they all accepted with equanimity the weight and the heat of the day, hunger and thirst, cold weather and destitution, fasting and prayer."[11] Robert's stay at Collan is attested by the cartulary of Molesme and the still extant remains of his cell, about one kilometer to the southeast of today's Collan.[12]

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[9] S. Lenssen, op. cit., 22 and 37 n. 1.

[10] PL 157, 1257f.; H. Hélyot, op. cit., I, 921f.; E. Petit, op. cit., I, 217; J. Laurent, op. cit., I, 114; W. Williams, Monastic Studies, 125; K. Spahr, Das Leben des hl. Robert, XVIf. and XLV.; U. Berlière, "Les origines de l'Ordre de Cîteaux," loc. cit., 448; and Robert Folz, "Le problème des origines de Cîteaux," Mélanges Saint Bernard (XXIVe Congrès de l'Association Bourguignonne des Sociétés Savantes. VIIIe centenaire de la mort de S. Bernard; Dijon: Association des Amis de Saint Bernard, 1954), 284ff.

As time went on, more vocations arrived, among them--some say--Alberic, a prime mover in the Cistercian reform and Robert's successor as abbot of Citeaux. When their number reached thirteen the place had become inadequate for their needs, a situation which called for the transfer of the settlement to a more suitable location. Robert must have mentioned this to the Malignys, thus soliciting their assistance. The latter considered it a distinction to have a regular monastery on their domains, and to be ranked among the founders of monasteries. Accordingly they summoned their relatives, allies and vassals in the year 1075, and with them conducted Robert and his companions to the forest of Molesme, a wooded and savage region in the eastern extremity of their holdings, which they had decided to donate to Robert and his monks.[13]

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[11] "In loco igitur qui nunc Colannus dicitur, Domino servientes in fame et siti, in frigore et nuditate, ieiunando et orando pondus diei et estus equanimiter tolerabant." K. Spahr, Das Leben des hl. Robert, 11.

[12] J. Laurent, op. cit., I, 114 n. 8.

[13] K. Spahr, Das Leben des hl. Robert, 11 and XVII.

The original donors were Hugh, the lord of Maligny, his sisters, nephews, nieces, their respective husbands and wives, a knight named Raynald of Molesme, Hugh of Couteren and his wife Gersend, the lady of Chaceney, Gersend's sister, Odo of Fulvy and his wife, and Odo, son of Engebaut, and his wife. In common agreement they made their donation to Our Lady and the monks who proposed to serve her at Molesme. They renounced all proprietorship to their alodium at Molesme, giving up all seignorial rights with only one minor exception: they retained some serfs and the manses cultivated by them, and part of the tithe received from the church of Pouilly. The document was signed by a great number of lords and knights invited to witness the ceremony. These notables included Achard of Chatillon, the seneschal of Burgundy, Tescelin the Red, the lord of Fontain-les-Dijon and father of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Hugh of Griselles, Bourdin and Guy, the lords of Larrey, Hugh of Eporves, and Raynald of Montfort. The date of the charter is given in general terms:

See also J. Laurent, op. cit., I, 115; A. Manrique, op. cit., I, 3; AS, Apr. III, 671; H. Hélyot, op. cit., I, 922; PL 157, 1258; S. Lenssen, op. cit., 20; W. Williams, Monastic Studies, 126; H. DeWarren, "Le monachisme à l'apparition de Bernard," loc. cit., 61; K. Hallinger, op. cit., II, 846. On the Celtic origin of "Molesme" see Pierre J. Bacon-Tacon, Récherches sur les origines celtiques principalement sur celles de Bugey (Paris: P. Didot l'Ainé, 1798), II, 418; and J. Laurent, op. cit., I, 115 n. 2.

"These were agreed upon when king Philip of the Franks was ruling, while Robert headed the duchy of Burgundy, and Raynald governed the diocese of Langres."[14] As tradition has it religious life began formally on the fourth Sunday of Advent, December 20th, 1075.[15] The monks dedicated the new establishment to the Blessed Virgin Mary, a custom practiced by the Cluniacs and adopted, later, by the pioneers of Cîteaux.[16] Although there is no extant documentary evidence of Robert's installation as first abbot of Molesme by the local ordinary, bishop Hugh Raynard of Langres, the fact that Robert was the first abbot of Molesme is attested by a number of other documents.[17]

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[14] "Ugo de Merlenniaco et sorores et nepotes et neptes sue cum maritis suis, et Rainaldus de Molismo et Odo Paganus et Wido, et Ugo de Curtiruno et uxor ejus Gersennis cum sorore sua Cacenniacensi et liberis ejus, et Odo de Furviaco et Odo filius Engelbaudi cum uxoribus suis...dederunt...omnes qui quicquam alodii ad Molismum attinentis habebant, illud Molismense alodium [Deo et] Beate Marie et fratribus eis in loco illo servituris, totum ita liberum et justitias et omnes redditus ejus et omnia consuetudinaria jura, et quicquid ad illud alodium adtinebat, ubicumque esset, sive in campis sive in pratis sive in nemoribus sive in aquis sive in molendinis, nichil sibi vel alicui ex [eo] et ex pertinentibus ad illud retinentes, nisi hoc decimationis quod quisque eorum accipiebat ab ecclesia Poliacensi. Quin etiam decimationis partes suas concesserant Beate Marie et servitoribus suis Rainaldus de Molismo et Odo filius Engelbaudi annuente uxore sua Sarra. Retinuerunt eciam sibi servos suos et mansos suos proprios. Mansos enim Beate Marie quos quasi proprios prius habuerant, dimiserunt ei et monachis ei servituris, nullusque eorum aliud aliquid excepit, excepta Gersenni et sorore sua, que plus quam alii servis suis usuarium nemoris et aquae tantummodo, nichilque aliud ex attinentibus toti Molismensi alodio, sibi retinuerunt...Facta sunt hec Philippo rege Francorum regnante, Roberto vero ducatu Burgundie presidente, Rainardo autem diocesim Lingonensem gubernante." J. Laurent, _op. cit_., II, 5f. Cf. _ibid_., I, 115f. and II, 3. See also GCh IV, 729, _ibid_., _Instr_. 147, and O. Ducourneau, _op. cit_., 35.

[15] "Anno milleno quinto cum septuageno, Sub patre Roberto crevit domus haec in aperto." GCh IV, 729 and _ibid_., _Instr_. 147f. Cf. PL 157, 1258; PL 185bis, 1399; PL 188, 642; AS, Apr. III, 663; RHF XIII, 724 note; J. Laurent, _op. cit_., II, 3; W. Parker Mason, "The Beginnings of the Cistercian Order," _loc. cit_., 172 n. 1; and W. Williams, _Monastic Studies_, 126.

Life at early Molesme meant great hardships and extreme poverty. The monks worked with their own hands and built a small chapel as well as their cells with branches. They sustained great privations in food and clothing. Often without bread, they contented themselves with vegetables.[18] At times Robert was forced to send some monks begging. The pioneers of Molesme thus spent their first four or five years in hardship and destitution which was not deliberately sought but simply a consequence of their extreme poverty. Relief came when on a visit to Molesme Hugh, bishop of Troyes, became aware of the monks' plight. He immediately decided to help them and called on the people of the neighborhood to do likewise. On another occasion, when learning that Molesme was without food and that Robert had dispatched some monks to Troyes to buy a supply without money, he provided the monks with new clothes and sent them home with a generous quantity of linen and bread.[19]

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[16] J. Laurent, *op. cit.*, I, 115.

[17] AS, Apr. III, 671; PL 157, 1259 and GCh IV, 729 and 731.

[18] "Robertus...assumptis fratribus in quoddam nemus cui Molismus nomen erat secessit; ubi propriis manibus laborantes ramos de arboribus exciderunt, ex eisdem domicilia in quibus possent quiescere construentes. Oratorium quoque simile scemate peregerunt...Qui cum panem non haberent quo post diuturnum laborem corpora possent reficere, tantummodo leguminibus utebantur." K. Spahr, *Das Leben des hl. Robert*, 11ff. *Ibid.*, 13, we are also told that they went "nudis pedibus." Cf. *ibid.*, XLVI; J. Mabillon, *op. cit.*, V, 87f.; PL 188, 642; H. Hélyot, *op. cit.*, I, 922; J. Laurent, *op. cit.*, I, 148; M. Dmitrewski, *op. cit.*, 73f.; O. Ducourneau, *op. cit.*, 38.

Help came also when donations began to arrive in a regular flow, though somewhat slowly at the beginning. The first of them was, in all likelihood, the church and village of Marcenay, given to Molesme by Hugh I, duke of Burgundy, in 1076 or 1077. Around this time, too, Simon, count of Bar-sur-Aube, made over his property at Grancey-sur-Aube to Robert and his monks. In 1079 Herbert Wifel donated the church of Senan. In the following year (1080) Raynald of Bar left Sèche-Fontaine to Molesme. In 1081 at the latest, Geoffrey II, the Elder, the lord of Joinville, ceded the estate of Vaucouleurs to the new foundation. Also in 1081,

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[19] K. Spahr, *Das Leben des hl. Robert*, XVII and 12f. Cf. J. Laurent, *op. cit.*, I, 116; PL 157, 1275 n. 11; W. Williams, *Monastic Studies*, 126; Gregor Müller, "Gründung der Abtei Cîteaux," *Cistercienser-Chronik*, 10(1898), 38 n. 21; Pius Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae quotquot innotuerunt a beato Petro Apostolo* (Leipzig: Verlag Karl W. Hiersemann, 1931), 643.

Walter, the castellanus of the donjon of Brienne, offered Radonvilliers in free alms "to Our Lady of Molesme and its abbot named Rotbert." In 1083 the already mentioned Herbert Wifel added the church of Flacy to his previous donation.[20]

Thus, donations did not assume major proportions prior to 1083. This, and the continuing plight of the new foundation caused the local ordinary, bishop Raynard of Langres, a man always well-disposed toward Molesme, to make a direct appeal to his vassals on behalf of Molesme in 1083. In it he solemnly authorized his vassals and clerics to make donations to Molesme and urged the principal barons of his bishopric--among them the duke of Burgundy, the count of Tonnerre, and the lords of Fouvent, Chacenay and Grancey--to do likewise.

The document reads, in part,

> I, Raynard, by the grace of God bishop of Langres, desirous of seeing the aforesaid church of Molesme grow stronger, to the honor of its mother /the diocese of/ Langres /hereby declare/: whichever cleric or casatus /lord enfeoffed with land on which he had built a house/ of the diocese of Langres wishes to cede either a church or part of his casamentum /land with house on it/ to the aforementioned church /of Molesme/, with the counsel and consent of the canons of Langres we consign it by this grant of ours to the monks dwelling there, saving the

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[20] AS, Apr. III, 671; PL 157, 1259; J. Laurent, op. cit., I, 80, 138, 148ff., II, 86, 134, 470f., 607 and 609; E. Petit, op. cit., I, 395ff.; S. Lenssen, op. cit., 26.

> customary rights of the bishop [of Langres]...These were acted upon in the year 1083...during the reign of Philip, king of the Franks.[21]

The appeal, also the first public confirmation of Molesme, caused no resentment, as the ensuing flow of donations proved. The list of the donors is once more headed by the duke of Burgundy--by now Odo I--who was happy to relinquish the church of Louesme to Molesme. Next came Raynald, the lord of Choiseul, who presented the abbey with the church of Sts. Peter and Gengulf at Varennes. This was followed by the donation of the churches of Saint Quentin and Saint Aignan, both in the region of Troyes, made respectively, by count Odo III of Troyes and count William I of Tonnerre. Around 1090, duke Theobald of Lorraine gave a parcel of his lands outside the walls of Nancy to Molesme with the proviso that a church be constructed thereon. On June 17, 1095, Robert accepted the church of Lucheux in the county of Saint-Pol, a gift of its count, Hugh of Candavène. Still in the same year Robert went to Abbéville, to take possession of the church of Authie, donated by Hugh the Poacher. From Abbéville Robert proceeded to Cohem and Blaringhem in Flanders, to accept local donations. Next he travelled to the castle of Aire, where the count of Flanders held his court. On this occasion count Robert, flanked by his wife Constance, his marshal, constable and *castellanus*, gave additional lands at Cohem to Robert. Between 1096 and 1097 Pibo, bishop of Toul, donated the church of Commercy and somewhat later Hugh, count of Troyes, gave Isle in the Champagne to Molesme. Anseau, bishop of Beauvais, made his donation of the church of Nointel in the Isle-de-France shortly before the foundation of Citeaux.[22]

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[21] "Ego...Rainardus, Dei gratia Lingonensis episcopus, premissam ecclesiam ad honorem sue matris Lingonensis ecclesie desiderans amplificare, quicumque clericus, quicumque Lingonensis ecclesie casatus sive ecclesiam sive aliquid de casamento sue pretitulate ecclesie velit concedere, salvis consuetudinariis episcopi redditionibus, consilio et laude canonicorum Lingonensium, dono nostro successorumque nostrorum monachis inibi degentibus concedimus optinere...Acta sunt hec Lingonis anno...millesimo LXXX. III.,...regnante Philippo rege Francorum." J. Laurent, op. cit., II, 7. Cf. also I, 3 and I, 127f. According to E. Petit, the bishop's favor may well have been additionally motivated by his desire to counterbalance the powerful abbey of Pothières, noted for its insubordination. Op. cit., I, 184.

In a number of instances donations were made to the monastery with strings attached, i.e. for the reception of children as oblates, for acceptance *in praebendam*, i.e. to feed so many poor people as long as they lived, for the privilege of becoming a monk in extremis, obtaining a burial place in the monastery, and for anniversary prayers to be said by the monks for the deceased relatives of the donors. It also happened that prospective crusaders sold part of their property to the monks and used the money received in exchange during their period of travel abroad.[23]

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[22] J. Laurent, *op. cit*., I, 148. Cf. also I, 3, 19, 26f., 74, 84f., 93, 113, 125, 151, 175, 185, 190, and II, 7, 36f., 40f., 80, 89, 98f., 124, 160, 167, 172, 417, 433 and 453; GCh IV, 731f.; PL 157, 435f.; S. Lenssen, *op. cit*., 26; and Jean Bouton, *Histoire de l'Ordre de Citeaux* (Tirage-à-part des "Fiches cisterciennes; Westmalle: Imprimérie de l'Ordre, 1959), 51. On the benefactors of Molesme see J. Laurent, *op. cit*., I, 113 and 132f.; GCh IV, 732; and Emil Socard, "Chartes inédits extraits des cartulaires de Molesme, intéressant un grand nombre de localités du départment de l'Aube," *Mémoires de la Société Académique d'agriculture, des science, arts et belles-lettres du départment de l'Aube*, 28(1864), 164.

As can be seen from the instances listed, Robert accepted churches, revenues, tithes and villages for his monastery. This was considered legitimate and was widely practiced by traditional monachism. This caused E. Petit to remark,

> Molesme shows us how a monastic order, placed in favorable conditions and directed by an eminent man, was able to acquire an enormous influence in a short time, an influence others envied.[24]

And J. Laurent added,

> During the first half-century of its existence, but especially from 1075 to 1111, there is no baronial house in the southern Champagne, the diocese and seigneurie of

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[23] J. Laurent, op. cit., I, 14, 17, 21, 28, 33, 40f., 46, 53f., 78f., 88, 111, 126, 128, 132, 135ff., 138f., 146, 164, 176, 181, 197f., 203, 205, 209, 214, 219, 225, 227, 232, 238, 245, 251, 269, 272 and II, 48, 85, 94, 114, 125, 127, 177 and 214ff. See also E. Socard, "Chartes inedits extraits des cartulaires de Molesme," loc. cit., 263 and J. Mabillon, op. cit., III, 743.

[24] Op. cit., I, 240. Cf. also J. Laurent, op. cit., I, 149 and Aux sources de la vie cartusienne, 114.

Langres and the north of Burgundy that did not heap its favors on Molesme.[25]

The flow of donations coincided with an influx of vocations soon after the monastery's foundation. The early recruits comprised clerics, and an even greater number of lords and knights. The former included Stephen Harding and his friend Peter, Alberic--unless he joined already at Collan,--Peter, the future bishop of Tarantaise, Guy, the future abbot of Aulps, John and Ilbode, both from Arras, the future Cistercian envoys who obtained the so-called Roman Privilege for the newly established abbey of Cîteaux, and the Norman, William of Argues.[26]

In 1082 Molesme attracted a churchman of great renown, Bruno of Cologne. Leaving the world with two associates named Peter and Lambert, he came to Robert of Molesme and settled, with the latter's permission, at Sèche-Fontaine, a newly established dependent priory in the immediate vicinity of Molesme. There the newcomers built a small oratory, and led the life of hermits. When others joined and the decision was made to transform the hermitage into a coenobium, Bruno resolved to leave the place. Having found a new home in the vicinity of Grenoble, he laid, in 1084, the foundations of the Carthusian order. His decision may have been hastened by the realization that the Burgundian forests, though perhaps far from cities, offered no real escape from the world or protection against people's curiosity to see Bruno. But Sèche-Fontaine had its importance for Bruno's future: It was here that the idea of his reform, a unique combination of cenobitic and eremitic life, took more concrete forms.[27] Also, by "turning toward eremitism, he was able to compare his own ideas with the ideal of poverty then prevailing in contemporary spirituality."[28] Then, as G. Schreiber pointed out, there was the overriding importance of the diocese of Langres in the growth of monastic and religious orders in the high Middle Ages, to which Molesme belonged. "It was no lesser a personage than Bruno, the founder of the Carthusian order, related to Citeaux in so many instances, where traditional ecclesiastical law clashed so strongly with the new spirit with its marked turning away from proprietary law." In Schreiber's view, this is still insufficiently appreciated by Bruno's (and Robert's) biographers.[29]

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[25] Op. cit., I, 113.

[26] J. Laurent, op. cit., I, 119f. and 148ff.; K. Spahr, Das Leben des hl. Robert, 13. On Stephen Harding see, Vita Sancti Petri Prioris Juliacensis, PL 185, 1259; William of Malmesbury, Gesta regum Anglorum, IV, PL 179, 1287; Charles Oursel, "La genèse des manuscrits primitifs de l'abbaye de Cîteaux sous l'abbatiat de Saint Etienne Harding," Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Arts et Belles-Lettres de Dijon, 114(1957-1959), 47; Fernand Delehaye, "Un moine; Saint Robert, fondateur de Citeaux," Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorum, 14(1952), 93; John B. Dailgairns, John H. Newman and Herbert Thurston, Life of St. Stephen Harding, Abbot of Cîteaux and Founder of the Cistercian Order (Westminister, Md.: The Newman Press, 1942).

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[27] J. Laurent, op. cit., I, 148; E. Petit, op. cit., I, 246 note; J. Mabillon, op. cit., V, 192; F. Delehaye, "Un moine; Saint Robert," loc. cit., 93; B. Bligny, L'Eglise et les ordres religieux, 259f.; idem, "Les premiers Chartreux et la pauvreté," loc. cit., 52; J. Leclercq, La spiritualité du moyen age, 190; D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, 198; Alice Cooke, "A Study in Twelfth Century Religious Revival," loc. cit., 146.

[28] W. Lühe, op. cit., 116.

The lay recruits formed an equally impressive list. This included Aimon the Red of Chatillon, Guervin of Mousson, Guy of Aprez, Guy of Chatel-Censoir, the second abbot of Molesme, Guy of Grancey, Hatto of Ricey, Herbert of Argenteuil, Hugh of Bourmont, Hugh of Montigny-Montfort, Lambert of Touillon, Lescelin of Maisey, Nevelon of Maligny, and Raynald of Noyers.[30]

The monastic family of Molesme, headed by the abbot, consisted of monks, conversi, praebendarii and oblates. The abbot had his officials, the grand prior, the choir master, the secretary, the chamberlain, the cellerar, the sacristan, the almoner, the pitanciarius, the guest master, the cook, the overseer of the fisheries and the infirmarian. Of the early priors we know the names of Hugh, Walter, Alberic,

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[29] Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 199 n. 185.

[30] J. Laurent, op. cit., I, 121ff. Cf. also I, 42, 44, 58, 60, 63, 70, 79, 91, 116, 156, 167, 180, 184, 216, 218, 224f., and 233.

Constant, Adam and Raoul. The office of the subprior, on the other hand, is mentioned only after 1099, i.e. after Robert's return from Cîteaux.[31]

The presence of conversi in early Molesme is attested by documentary evidence from the year 1095. According to K. Spahr, the conversi were then classified as monks. This was also the way at Cluny. As a rule they worked in the fields and in distant manors.[32] Other chores were looked after by all kinds of servants. As a group they were called famuli. Some of them found employment in the monastery building, others--like the mayor, the forester, the seller, and the overseer of the crops and vineyards--worked on the outside.

The famuli abbatis were the domestic servants of the abbot. They also accompanied the abbot on his journeys. We know some of Robert's famuli by name: Henry, Marinus, Raynald, and William of Ponthieu. It seems, officials like the prior and the chamberlain also had one domesticus each to assist them.[33]

In line with contemporary usage, the community moreover had oblates (oblati), i.e. children brought to the monastery to be raised as monks. Then there were the so-called praebendarii who in return for a donation to the monastery were allowed to stay with the monks and receive food and shelter, without being obliged to take the monastic habit. In one instance a lord's only daughter was thus placed in the custody of the monks who received lands, forests, meadows and serfs for the favor.[34]

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[31] Ibid., I, 183ff. Cf. also I, 41f., 43, 46, 58, 60, 114f., 272 and II, 8, 55; and K. Hallinger, op. cit., II, 847.

[32] K. Spahr, De fontibus constitutivis primigenii juris constitutionalis Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, 61; J. Laurent, op. cit., I, 62, 198, 253 and II, 72, 236.

[33] J. Laurent, op. cit., I, 199ff., and 207.

The influx of vocations and the generosity of its donors enabled Molesme to make foundations of its own in quick succession, not only in Burgundy, but also in Bar, Lorraine, Picardy and Flanders. It had several priories already during the first six years of its existence and erected some twenty-two additional ones from churches and other donations during the last decade of the century. According to E. Petit, Molesme claimed some forty dependencies by the year 1100, dispersed in twelve dioceses, i.e. Arras, Autun, Auxerre, Beauvais, Chartres, Langres, Meaux, Metz, Rouen, Sens, Thérouanne, Toul and Troyes. These dependencies were graphically,

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[34] "Rogerius de Leesmo dedit Deo et Sancte Marie Molismensi omnem hereditatem suam de Leesmo et eam que pertinet ad Leesmum, ubicumque manet, in terris, in servis et ancillis, in silvis, in pratis. Ipse vero Rogerius, eo tempore quo hec facta sunt, habebat unam filiam, quam in custodiam Sancte Marie et monachorum posuit." J. Laurent, op. cit., II, 125. Cf. also I, 79, 111, 126, 128, 135f., 181, 197f., 225, 230, 232, and II, 85, 125, 127, 164, 177 and 214.

establishment	territory	diocese	year of foundation
Collan	Tonnere	Langres	before 1075
Flacy	Sens	Sens	1079
Senan	Sens	Sens	1079
Vaucouleurs	Meuse	Toul	a. 1081
Sèche-Fontaine	Lasseis	Langres	1081
Radonvilliers	Brenois	Troyes	1081-1082
Louesme	Lasseis	Langres	1083
Varennes	Langres	Langres	1084
Plancy	Arcis	Troyes	1090
Bertignolles	Lasseis	Langres	before 1090
Merrey	Lasseis	Langres	before 1090
Bonne-Nouvelle	Roumois	Rouen	1090
Nancy	Port	Toul	1080-1090
St. Quentin	Troyes	Troyes	before 1090
La Maison Dieu	Brie	Meaux	1093
Poissey	Pincerais	Chartres	before 1094
Nitry	Auxerre	Auxerre	1085-1095
Lucheux	Artois	Arras	1095
Cohem	Ternois	Thérouanne	1095
Montigny	Gatinais	Sens	1089-1096
St. Aignan	Tonnerre	Langres	1089-1096
Nointel	Beaumont	Beauvais	1095-1096
Breuil-lesCommercy	Meuse	Toul	1096
Isle-Aumont	Troyes	Troyes	1097
Frolois	Duesmois	Autun	before 1098
Fouchères	Troyes	Troyes	before 1100
St. Broin-les-Mains	Dijon	Langres	before 1100
Chambroncourt	Ornois	Toul	before 1100
Aube	Messin	Metz	before 1100
Lassicourt	Brenois	Troyes	1093-1100
Crisenon	Auxerre	Auxerre	before 1100
Buxereuilles-le-Chateaux	Bolenois	Langres	before 1100
Cirey-le-Chateaux	Barrois	Langres	before 1100

Then followed, in 1097, the abbey of Aulps in the diocese of Geneva and, one year later, Cîteaux, in the diocese of

Chalon-sur Saône.[35]

As the list of monastic offices, the employment of the priory system, feudal involvements and some recorded contemporary monastic practices show, Molesme followed the Cluniac pattern in customs and organization. It may well be that Robert simply introduced the Cluniac practices of Tonnerre where he had been shortly before. Then there is the fact that the principal elements of the Cisterican reform were simply counterpoints of the Cluniac practices. According to Ordericus Vitalis, the monks opposed to the exodus from Molesme argued,

> We have learnt to preserve these rules from former monks who live religiously, and we possess them as heirs to their order and profession. As long as we find the monks of Cluny and Tours (Marmoutier), and the other clergy maintaining these institutions, we shall not depart from them.[36]

Robert of Torigny, a Benedictine chronicler who died in 1186, similarly reports that the monks in question told their abbot,

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[35] J. Laurent, op. cit., I, 208ff. Cf. also I, 3, 83, 126, 215, 224ff., 246f., 253ff., and II, passim; E. Petit, op. cit., I, 241f., CGh IV, 730; PL 157, 1259; S. Lenssen, op. cit., 20f.; K. Hallinger, op. cit., II, 758; and R. Graham, "The Relation of Cluny to Some Other Movements of Monastic Reform," loc. cit., 193.

[36] Historia Ecclesiastica, III, viii, 25, PL 188, 640. Cf. O. Ducourneau, op. cit., 22f.; K. Hallinger, op. cit., II, 846f.; R. Folz, "Le problème des origines de Cîteaux," loc. cit., 286; and G. Müller, "Gründung der Abtei Cîteaux," loc. cit., 38ff.

> The customs observed by all the monasteries of the West are known to have been instituted by blessed Maur, the disciple of St. Benedict, by blessed Columban, and--to come to the moderns--by St. Odo, abbot of Cluny. They said that they could not abandon these customs.[37]

Donations and foundations made contacts with the contemporary feudal world unavoidable, as was evident from the example of traditional monachism. Accordingly Molesme could not but become the site of occasional feudal gatherings. The cartulary of Molesme mentions two such instances. On a Christmas Day, some time between 1081 and 1084, Odo I, duke of Burgundy, met with his barons at the monastery. The visitors included Anseric, the lord of Montreal, Miles of Chacenay and his son Raynald, the lord of Grancey, Bernard I, the lord of Montbard, Raynald of Chatillon, the seneschal of Burgundy, the lord of Duesme, Hugh Godfrey, and Aimon the Red of Chatillon.[38] A second reunion took place on April 5th, Easter Sunday, 1097, when Hugh, count of Troyes, arrived with his retinue. On this occasion he added to the donations made by his father, Theobald I, his mother Adelaide, and his brother, count Odo III. Among the participants were Guy III, the lord of Vigny, and Dudon, the _vidame_ of Chalons.[39]

The donations helped Molesme to wealth and prosperity which greatly affected its life. In the words of Robert's biographer, the abundance in temporals led to discord, wickedness of heart and a slowdown in things spiritual. Robert did not approve of a life based on riches; his aim was to live "in accordance with the institutes of St. Benedict."[40] The situation created tensions and discord in the community. The abbot, seeing the futility of his efforts to end the disunion and fearing detrimental effects on his soul, left his monastery and joined a small, but fervent community of hermits at Aux, near Riel-les-Eaux.[41] This could only mean a temporary exodus--O. Ducourneau places it between the years 1090 and 1093--[42]for as abbot of Molesme he could not leave his monastery permanently, without formally renouncing his office and making provisions for the election of a successor.

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[37] _De immutatione ordinis monachorum_, I; PL 202, 1309.

[38] J. Laurent, _op. cit._, I, 142 and II, 12.

[39] _Ibid._, I, 151. Cf. also I, 142 and II, 409 and 433.

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[40] "Beatus autem Robertus cor suum divitiis affluentibus non apponens magis ac magis in Deum proficere conabatur, et secundum instituta sancti Benedicti iuste et pie et sobrie conversari." K. Spahr, Das Leben des hl. Robert, 13. See also PL 157, 1277; O. Ducourneau, op. cit., 36; S. Lenssen, op. cit., 15f.; W. Williams, Monastic Studies, 126f.; R. Folz, "Le problème des origines de Cîteaux," loc. cit., 286.

[41] "Orta igitur inter eos discordia recessit ab eis venitque ad locum qui vocatur Aux." K. Spahr, Das Leben des hl. Robert, 14. Cf. ibid., n. 3. See also AS, Apr. III, 671; PL 157, 1277; J. Mabillon, op. cit., V, 204 and 385; H. Hélyot, op. cit., I, 922; J. Laurent, op. cit., I, 149n. 9; O. Ducourneau, op. cit., 36; W. Williams, Monastic Studies, 126; R. Folz, "Le problème des origines de Cîteaux," loc. cit., 286; and M. Courtepée, op. cit., VII, 197.

[42] Op. cit., 40.

At Aux Robert shared the life of the brethren. They all worked with their own hands, prayed and kept constant vigils in their untiring service of God. In his biographer's description, Robert surpassed all others in virtue, but not at the expense of humility.[43] Not surprisingly then, he was elected abbot, or, perhaps, spiritual father of the group. As their leader he cared for the sick and strengthened the well.[44]

Meanwhile the monks of Molesme began to feel the effects of Robert's departure. Filled with remorse for having offended Robert and realizing that their abbot's absence brought a substantial decrease in donations, a decline in monastic discipline and ruin to their economy, they appealed to papal authority to obtain Robert's return in order to remedy the situation. Their wish was granted, and Robert resumed his duties at Molesme.[45]

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[43] "Vixitque aliquamdiu inter eos laborans propriis manibus...Vigiliis autem et orationibus incessanter insistens infatigabiliter Domino serviebat et cum in sanctitate cunctos excelleret omnibus serviens omnium se minimum reputabat." K. Spahr, Das Leben des hl. Robert, 14.

[44] Idem, Das Leben des hl. Robert, 14 and XLVI. Cf. also S. Lenssen, op. cit., 8 n. 1.

[45] K. Spahr, Das Leben des hl. Robert, XVII and 13ff. See also O. Ducourneau, op. cit., 39; S. Lenssen, op. cit., 27f.; J. Mahn, op. cit., 41; J. Bouton, op. cit., 51. The expression "papal authority" was used in the text, to avoid the difficulties caused by an all too frequent recourse to the

Back in his abbey, Robert is believed to have worked on the restoration of good order and regular life. In their wake came, once more, prosperity. The donation of churches, lands and the like resumed between 1094 and 1098, the year of Robert's renewed absence (in Citeaux). At least nine priories and one abbey were set up under the auspices of Molesme or placed under its jurisdiction in the just mentioned period. Hence, O. Ducourneau argues, it could not have been a relaxation or lack of discipline which caused Robert's secession to Aux. In S. Lenssen's view, things happened because Robert wished to introduce long-neglected but basic monastic practices--like manual labor--but did not succeed. Plausible as these views may be, they still do not give definite answers about the exact nature of Robert's difficulties.[46]

To the account of Robert's exodus to Aux his biographer adds the story of another secession, involving four monks advanced in the spiritual life, i.e. Alberic, Stephen Harding and two unnamed others, possibly John and Ilbode.

Pope--Alexander II or Gregory VII--in Robert's vita. France had papal legates at this time, among them the great Hugh of Lyons, who were empowered to act with full authority.

[46] S. Lenssen, op. cit., 27f. Cf. also J. Mabillon, op. cit., V, 86; PL 157, 1260; J. Laurent, op. cit., I, 150 and 217ff.; K. Spahr, Das Leben des hl. Robert, 15; O. Ducourneau, op. cit., 39f.

"After the rudiments of claustral life, they longed for the singular battle of the desert." They left Molesme and retired to a place called Vivicus.[47] Modern historians give little credence to the report. In J. Laurent's view, there is no precise information in support of the historicity of the incident.[48] According to O. Ducourneau, the story is simply an invention.[49] For the secession--if it took place at all--was not the outcome of the violence done to Alberic as reported by the Exordium Parvum, but undertaken in search of eremitic life. Moreover, Alberic suffered hardships and beatings not in the early 1090ies, but, according to the Vita, or so it seems, after Robert's return from Aux, or in any case during the events connected with the foundation of Cîteaux.[50] The Vita Roberti also informs us that the four remained at Vivicus "for some time." This, hypothetically speaking, could mean three to four years at the most, for in the convention drawn up in 1097 between Molesme and the newly established abbey of Aulps Alberic and Stephen Harding are explicitly mentioned.[51] In the biographer's account, the venture came to an end when, urged on by the monks of Molesme, the bishop of Langres threatened them with excommunication unless they returned to their abbey. "Compelled therefore to leave the place in question, they moved on to a certain forest called Cistercium by the neighboring population," the biographer added.[52] This information is similarly of a doubtful value. For Alberic, a man of great virtue, would hardly have risked excommunication, and, besides, the convention of 1097 clearly proves that Alberic and Stephen were at Molesme not long before the establishment of Citeaux. O. Ducourneau therefore concludes,

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[47] "Erant autem inter illos quatuor viri spiritu fortiores, scilicet Albericus et Stephanus et alii duo, qui post claustralis exercitii rudimenta ad singulare certamen Heremi suspirabant. Egressi igitur de monasterio Molismensi venerunt ad locum cui Vivicus nomen est." K. Spahr, Das Leben des hl. Robert, 15 and XLVI. A. Manrique mentions Peña's conjecture that the two unnamed brethren were Odo and John; op. cit., I, 5. According to S. Lenssen, they may have been John and Ilbode who went to Pope Paschal to secure the Roman Privilege; op. cit., 8 n. 1. See also AS, Apr. III, 671; J. Mabillon, op. cit., V, 219; PL 157, 1260; H. Hélyot, op. cit., I, 925; J. Laurent, op. cit., I, 149; O. Ducourneau, op. cit., 50ff.; W. Williams, Monastic Studies, 128; W. Parker Mason, "The Beginnings of the Cistercian Order," loc. cit., 173n. 1; U. Berlière, "Les origines de l'Ordre de Cîteaux," loc. cit., 450; G. Müller, "Gründung der Abtei Cîteaux," loc. cit., 46; and H. De Warren, "Le monachisme à l'apparition de Bernard," loc. cit., 61.

[48] Op. cit., I, 223. Cf. K. Spahr, Das Leben des hl. Robert, XLVI.

[49] O. Ducourneau, op. cit., 51.

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[50] Exordium Parvum, IX; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 10. Cf. O. Ducourneau, op. cit., 50ff.

[51] K. Spahr, Das Leben des hl. Robert, 15. On Aulps, see below nn. 848, 849 and 850.

[52] "Quem [locum, i.e. Vivicum] cum aliquanto tempore incoluissent, ad instantiam Molismensium a viro venerabili Joceranno Lingonensi episcopo, nisi reverterentur excommunicationis sententiam susceperunt. Compulsi ergo praefatum locum relinquere, venerunt ad quamdam silvam Cistercium ab incolis nuncupatam." K. Spahr, Das Leben des hl. Robert, 15. In connection with the reference to Jocerannus, K. Spahr remarks, "Not so; he was bishop of Langres 1113-1115; Gams 558." Ibid., 15 n. 7.

> This point of history remains rather obscure; one cannot absolutely prove its falseness, but there are good reasons for supposing that Alberic's and Stephen's exodus to Vivicus was a product of the imagination, to serve as a basis to the false representation of the tradition of Molesme about the Cistercian origins, propagated among other Benedictines since the end of the twelfth century.[53]

In the meantime, while proclaiming a crusade to free the Holy Land at Clermont in 1095, Pope Urban II issued a bull of confirmation and papal protection for the abbey of Molesme, the first of its kind. Its provisions, while safeguarding the rights of the bishop of Langres, placed the monastery under apostolic protection, confirmed its holdings, and promised effective sanctions against anyone molesting Molesme or doing violence to its possessions.[54]

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[53] O. Ducourneau, op. cit., 51f.

[54] "Tam tuis et tuorum fratrum quam et reverendi fratris nostri Roberti Lingonensis episcopi postulationibus inclinati, coenobium Molismense, cui Deo auctore preesse dinosceris, per presentis decreti paginam sub tutelam apostolice sedis excipimus, salvo Lingonensis ecclesie jure et legitima defensione...Apostolica auctoritate statuimus ut quicquid eidem cenobio supradictus episcopus vel ejus pre/de/cessor Rainardus contulerunt, et quecumque hodie juste possidet, sive in futurum concessione pontificum, liberalitate principum vel oblatione fidelium juste atque canonice poterit adipisci, firma tibi tuisque successoribus et illibata permaneant...Decernimus ergo ut nulli hominum liceat eandem ecclesiam temere perturbare aut ejus possessiones auferre vel ablatas retinere, minuere vel temerariis vexationibus fatigare, sed omnia integra conserventur eorum pro quorum sustentatione et gubernatione concessa sunt usibus

As for regular life, the Pope ordained that no trickery or violence be tolerated in the election of the abbot, which should rather be the outcome of a consensus or follow the wish of the more mature part of the community, inspired by the fear of God and the Rule of St. Benedict. The person thus elected must then be blessed by the local ordinary, the bishop of Langres. Urban II also urged the monks to be faithful to their religious vocation,

> Therefore, Beloved Sons in Christ, always seek to have the fear and the love of God in your hearts, that the freer you are from the tumult of the world the more you strive to please God with every faculty of your mind and soul.[55]

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omnimodis profutura, salvo scilicet in omnibus jure et subjectione Lingonensis ecclesie: ita tamen ut episcopo non liceat exactionis vel consuetudinis gravamen aliquod fratribus irrogare...Donationem illam, quam eidem monasterio bone memorie Rainardus et ejus successor Robertus, Lingonenses episcopi, consilio et assensu canonicorum suorum concesserunt, nos quoque presenti decreto firmamus, videlicet, ut quicumque clericus, quicumque Lingonensis ecclesie casatus cenobio vestro sive ecclesiam seu aliquid de casamento suo contulerit, salvis nimirum consuetudinariis episcopi reditionibus, monachis liceat optinere...Si quis in crastinum archiepiscopus aut episcopus, imperator aut rex, dux, comes, vicecomes, judex aut ecclesiastica quelibet secularisve persona hanc nostre constitutionis paginam sciens contra eam temere venire temptaverit, secundo tertiove commonita si non satisfactione congrua emendaverit, potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat reamque se divino judicio existere de perpetrata iniquitate cognoscat, et a sacratissimo corpore et sanguine Dei et domini Redemptoris nostri Jhesu Xpisti aliena fiat, atque in extremo examine divine ultioni subjaceat." J. Laurent, op. cit., II, 3f. Cf. also I, 1 and 151, and J. Bouton, op. cit., 53.

[55] "Nullus ibi qualibet surreptionis astutia seu violentia preponatur, nisi quem fratres communi consensu vel

The document was issued "at Clermont, in the Auvergne...on November 29th, A.D. 1095, in the eighth year of Pope Urban II's pontificate."[56]

Shortly thereafter, Molesme raised one of its cells, Aulps, in the diocese of Geneva, founded around 1090 by Guido and Guarinus, into an abbey. On this occasion a convention was drawn up between Molesme and the monks of Aulps. Mentioned among those present are Robert, the abbot of Molesme, Guido, the new abbot of Aulps, Alberic, the prior of Molesme, Ado, Walter, Hercelin and Stephen, the secretary of Molesme, "by whose hand the deed was drawn up." The most important part of the document reads as follows,

> Since the lands and tenements [of Aulps] had been given to our monastery sometime ago and subjected to it as a cell, the brethren of that place, inspired by God, adhering more strictly to the precepts of our father St. Benedict, animated by the counsel of some religious and enlightened by the authority of the same Rule, asked that an abbot be given to them by us...This was defined by the lord Robert, first abbot of Molesme, in the presence

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fratrum pars consilii sanioris secundum timorem Dei et beati Benedicti regulam elegerint. Electus autem a Lingonensi episcopo consecretur...Vos igitur, filii in Xpisto dilecti, Dei semper timorem et amorem in vestris cordibus habere satagite, ut quanto a secularibus tumultibus liberiores estis, tanto amplius placere Deo totis mentis et anime virtutibus haneletis (sic)." J. Laurent, op. cit., II, 4.

[56] "Datum apud Clarum Montem Arvennie per manum Johannis sancte R. ecclesie diaconi cardinalis, III. kalendas decembris, indictione IIIa, anno dominice Incarnationis M°. XC°. VI°., pontificatus autem domni Urbani secundi pape VIII°." J. Laurent, op. cit., II, 4.

> of...Alberic, the prior of Molesme...and the monk Stephen, by whose hand the deed was drawn up.[57]

The provisions of the agreement are, as can be seen, fourfold. (1) The monks of Aulps wished to observe the rule of St. Benedict more strictly (*arcius*). (2) They notified abbot Robert, since Aulps was a dependency of Molesme. (3) They were encouraged in their resolve by some monks of Molesme. And, (4) they obtained Robert's agreement that Aulps become the daughter-abbey of Molesme.

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[57] "Cum scilicet fundus ille olim nostre ecclesie collatus et per omnia subditus ut cella fuerit, ipsius loci fratres, Deo inspirante sancti patris nostri Benedicti preceptis arcius inherentes, quorundam religiosorum consilio animati, ipsius etiam regule auctoritate edocti, abbatem sibi a nobis donari petierunt. In qua peticione suppliciter in nostro capitulo perseverantibus, sic tandem annuimus, et ejusdem loci abbate obeunte, sicut hic primus, ita omnes ejus successores, a nostro loco expetiti atque collati, suscipientes illius loci curam a nostro abbate ibidem substituantur. Eundem quoque abbatem nostrum, Molismensem scilicet, dum illuc venire contigerit, omnis ei reverentia tam in sede quam in justiciis regulariter tamen peragendis exhibebitur. Si vero, quod absit! inter illos fratres ac suum abbatem discordie malum irrepserit, ad hoc examinandum vel pacificandum noster abbas, non alia quelibet persona, advocabitur. Id quoque statutum est ut frater quilibet loci illius in aliquo scandalizatus ad nos confugerit vel de nostris quispiam ad eos itidem facere pertemptaverit, sine proprii abbatis permissu minime suscipiatur. Quod si forte illi fratres, quod Deus avertat! ab ipsa, quam arripuerunt, districtione ad usus secularium revertentes apostataverint, pristino more nobis ut cella locus ille restituetur. Diffinitum est hoc a domno Roberto Molismensium abbate primo in presentia subscriptorum, domni scilicet Widonis in eodem loco primitus in abbatem constituti, Alberici Molismensis prioris, Ade monachi, Walterii monachi, Liescelini mon., Stephani queque mon. per cujus manum scriptum est." *Abbatiae Alpensis Creatio*, J. Van Damme, *op. cit.*, 3. Cf. also J. Mabillon, *op. cit.*, V, 663; GCh IV, 730; PL 182, 459; J. Laurent, *op. cit.*, I, 4, 7f., 151 and II, 7f.; W. Parker Mason, "The Beginnings of the Cistercian Order," *loc. cit.*, 175; *Aux sources de la vie cartusienne*, 138f.; G. Müller, "Gründung der Abtei Cîteaux," *loc. cit.*, 37; U. Berlière, "Les origines de l'Ordre de Cîteaux," *loc. cit.*, 449; Jean A. Lefèvre, "Que savons-nous du Cîteaux primitif?," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 51(1956), 19; and Charles Dereine, "La fondation de Cîteaux d'après l'Exordium Cistercii et l'Exordium Parvum," *Cîteaux*, 10(1959), 147.

Noteworthy is also the fact that the prime movers of the Cistercian reform--Robert, Alberic, and Stephen--were all present at this gathering. And what is more, the same principle--"to adhere to the precepts of our father, St. Benedict more strictly"--guided both the promotion of Aulps into an abbey and the foundation of the new monastery of Cîteaux. Last but not least, the same person is in charge on both occasions: it was Robert who authorized the elevation of Aulps, just as he was also in charge when Cîteaux was founded.[58]

The document was drafted "in the ninth year of... Pope Urban II's pontificate." Since Urban's tenth year began on March 12th, 1097, it must have been issued between this date, and March 12th, 1096.[59]

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[58] J. Lefèvre, "Que savons-nous du Cîteaux primitif?," _loc. cit._, 19f. Cf. _idem_, "S. Robert de Molesme dans l'opinion monastique du XIIe et du XIIIe siècles," _Analecta Bollandiana_, 74(1956), 70. See also J. Laurent, _op. cit._, II, 8; I, 7f.; and S. Lenssen, _op. cit._, 28.

[59] "Actum est hoc anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo XCVII., indictione IIII., pontificatus domni Urbani secundi pape anno nono." J. Van Damme, _op. cit._, 3. Cf. also J. Laurent, _op. cit._, II, 8; J. Lefèvre, "S. Robert de Molesme dans l'opinion monastique," _loc. cit._, 69; and J. Mabillon, _op. cit._, V, 360.

The convention drawn up between Molesme and Aulps seemed to indicate that the situation improved at Molesme after Robert's return from Aux. This is also what Robert's biographer relates. "Given over to constant fasts and prayers--he writes--Robert was jealous for his charges with a divine jealousy, so that he reformed monastic discipline within a short time."[60] But not everyone was satisfied and, as a result, tensions remained. In need of help, Robert, Alberic, and the monks Odo, John Stephen, Letald, and Peter--when travelling, the abbot was usually accompanied by a number of religious who could act as chaplain, notary, chamberlain, etc.--personally journeyed to the papal legate, archbishop Hugh of Lyons. As they readily admitted, their problem centered around the manner of observing the Rule of St. Benedict. They acknowledged that "in view of several hindering causes" they were able to observe the Rule but tepidly and negligently." Yet their ideal was to serve God "according to the Rule of St. Benedict," not in the traditional manner, but "more strictly and more perfectly."[61] To quote the *Exordium Magnum*, the work of Conrad of Eberbach and published after 1186, they aimed at "religious renewal," i.e. a life based on a full-scale observance of the Rule of St. Benedict, in view of the conflict between the latter which they vowed to observe and their daily religious practices, a conflict which made them feel like perjurors.[62]

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[60] "Ieiuniis et orationibus incessanter intentus, emulatione Dei emulabatur subjectos sibi, ut in brevi observantiam in eis discipline monastice reformaret." K. Spahr, Das Leben des hl. Robert, 15.

[61] This is evident from the legate's letter (written as a result of the encounter) in which he states, "Notum sit omnibus...vos...Molismensis cenobii fratres lugduni in nostra

Such aspirations however threatened the internal peace of the monastery and, as the legate convinced himself, could not be carried out undisturbedly at Molesme. Anxious to provide for the welfare of both parties, Hugh refrained from condemning the traditionalists. He saw the best solution in the establishment of two communities and issued a decree in this sense. He urged Robert and his companions "to persevere in their holy endeavor" and to leave Molesme, with "others who properly and by unanimous consent have decided to join," for a place which Divine Providence will

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presentia astitisse ac regule beatissimi Benedicti quam illuc hucusque tepide ac negligenter in monasterio tenueratis arcius deinceps atque perfectius inherere velle professos fuisse. Quod...in loco predicto pluribus impedientibus causis constat adimpleri non posse." *Exordium Parvum*, II; J. Van Damme, *op. cit*., 6. Cf. also J. Bouton, *op. cit*., 53; R. Folz, "Le problème des origines du Cîteaux," *loc. cit*., 289; D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order*, 209; and R. Duvernay, "Cîteaux, Vallombreuse et Etienne Harding," *loc. cit*., 459.

[62] *Exordium Magnum*, XI; Bruno Griesser, *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense sive Narratio de initio Cisterciensis Ordinis auctore Conrado monacho Claravallensi postea Eberbacensi ibidemque abbate* (Romae: Editiones Cistercienses, 1961), 63. This is the critical edition of the *Exordium Magnum*.

point out to them and there to serve the Lord "in a more wholesome manner." He made his decision official by attaching his seal to the document drawn up in connection with the meeting and provided the legal basis for a secession from Molesme.[63]

Expressions like "we _then_ advised" and "_then_ present" in Hugh's letter suggest the possibility of either more than one trip to the archbishop, or the lapse of several days between the conversation and the issuance of the legatine decree.[64]

It may be asked here, why did Robert go to the papal legate when the local ordinary's authorization would have sufficed for a secession. According to W. Lühe, the "reformers" approached the papal legate--a man "commanding respect on account of his religious fervor, prudence and determination"--only after Robert of Langres recoiled from splitting up the community.[65] Thinking along these lines, S. Lenssen moreover felt that such action was dictated by prudence. This all the more, since Robert had taken charge of Collan and returned from Aux to Molesme at the insistence of the highest ecclesiastical authority.[66]

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[63] "Nos utriusque partis saluti, videlicet inde recedentium atque illic remanentium, providentes, in locum alium quem vobis largitas divina designaverit vos declinare, ibique salubrius atque perfectius domino famulari, utile decrevimus fore. Vobis ergo tunc presentibus Roberto abbati, fratribus quoque alberico, odoni, ioanni, stephano, letaldo, et petro, sed et omnibus quos regulariter et communi consilio vobis sociare decreveritis hoc sanctum propositum servare, et tunc consuluimus, et ut in hoc perseveretis precipimus, et auctoritate apostolice sedis per sigilli nostri impressionem in perpetuum confirmamus." _Exordium Parvum_, II; J. Van Damme, _op. cit._, 6. Cf. also A. Cooke, "A Study in Twelfth Century Religious Revival and Reform," _loc. cit._, 149.

[64] G. Müller, "Gründung der Abtei Cîteaux," _loc. cit._, 67. See also O. Ducourneau, _op. cit._, 46; and R. Folz, "Le problème des origines de Cîteaux," _loc. cit._, 289.

Commenting on the legate's action A. Fliche writes,

> The intervention of the papal legate is worthy of note, for it proves that the papacy, the protectress of Cluny, did not discourage those who wished to separate themselves from it in order to lead a life of seclusion. It felt that there is room for the one and the other, for the rich Cluniac abbeys and for the monasteries that wanted no possessions. Both were able to contribute to the great work of reform which was the sole program of the papacy.[67]

What were the obstacles in the way of a better observance of the Benedictine Rule, alluded to, but not specified, by the legate? Authors of the seventeenth century, like C. Henriquez, A. Manrique and P. Le Nain believed that Molesme had become rich and decadent as a result of the numerour donations it accepted. They speak of corruption, license, the disappearance of Benedictine regularity and "softness."[68]

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[65] W. Lühe, op. cit., 116.

[66] Op. cit., 38 n. 1. Cf. GCh X, 67; W. Parker Mason, "The Beginnings of the Cistercian Order," loc. cit., 172 n. 4 and 177; and G. Müller, "Gründung der Abtei Cîteaux," loc.cit., 67.

[67] A. Fliche, Le règne de Philippe Ier, 467.

[68] A. Manrique, op. cit., I, 6; PL 157, 1259; U. Berlière, L'ordre monastique dès origines au XIIe siècle, 266;

More recent historians however strongly challenge this view. Abundance and even opulence do not automatically imply a relaxation of monastic discipline. In addition, there is no indication whatsoever of any infraction. In fact J. Laurent, the editor of its cartulary, called Molesme "a model monastery," just as J. Mabillon before him noted its fame under St. Robert. Nor can it be said that while Robert's renown spread, discipline sank low in his monastery, for this would also be a reflection on the abbot's persanality. One may also ask, how could a fervent community have declined in such a short time and, again, without any responsibility of the abbot? Then there is to be considered that Guarinus and Guido, the founders of Aulps, turned to Molesme for recruits, and when Aulps became an abbey it wished to retain its allegiance to Molesme. Also, a community which included a considerable number of saintly men, like Robert, Alberic, Stephen Harding, Guarinus, and Stephen's friend Pro--the latter, it should be noted, remained at Molesme--and in which twenty-one religious opted for a more demanding life at Cîteaux, cannot simply be branded corrupt. Not even after the secession of the more fervent element to Cîteaux, for Molesme's sanctity continued to

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O. Ducourneau, op. cit., 36 n. 2; S. Lenssen, op. cit., 12ff.; C. Dereine, "Odon de Tournai et la crise du cenobitisme au XIe siècle," loc. cit., 153.

be attested by its contemporaries, including the early Cistercians who, one may think, would have listed deviations and precautions in their early statutes, if only by way of self-justification.[69]

Yet, we know from archbishop Hugh's letter that all was not quiet at Molesme and that efforts to introduce a more demanding observance were doomed to failure. This is also evident from Pope Urban's letter in which he told his legate that, as he learned from the brethren of Molesme, religious life had been upset in their monastery as a result of Robert's departure to Cîteaux. The monks of Molesme spoke in a similar sense when informing Hugh of Lyons that without Robert's return from Cîteaux they saw no possibility of restoring monastic life to its former state. Finally, one could argue, greatest fervor would hardly have occasioned an exodus from Molesme. All this leads to the conclusion: while Molesme was no place of corruption, things were not perfect in it, in spite of the monastery's fame and its abbot's sanctity. Moreover, if there is a fervent community, the secession of its abbot and of a number of monks does not ordinarily create turbulent conditions. One must therefore admit: religious life, while not decadent, left room for improvements at Molesme. In his letter to Pope Paschal II, Hugh of Lyons further explained this point, by stating, "In the observance of his (St. Benedict's) Rule they have resolved to abandon the usages of certain monasteries."[70]

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[69] Exordium Parvum, XII and Exordium Cistercii, I; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 11 and 21. Cf. GCh IV, 731; J. Mabillon, op. cit., V, 414; PL 188, 640; PL 202, 582 and 599f.; MGH, SS VI, 463; RHF XII, 467 and XIII, 459 and 673; J. Laurent, op. cit., I, 203, 254, II, 170, 262; O. Ducourneau, op. cit., 43; A. Fliche, Le règne de Philippe Ier, 466; W. Williams, Monastic Studies, 127; S. Lenssen, op. cit., 13, 16ff.; J. Bouton, op. cit., 51; R. Folz, "Le problème des origines de Cîteaux," 288; Aux sources de la vie cartusienne, 114; J. Lefèvre, "Que savons-nous du Cîteaux primitif?," loc. cit., 7; C. Dereine, "Odon de Tournai et la crise du cenobitisme au XIe siècle," loc. cit., 153.

Riches, even if it brought no decadence to Molesme, nevertheless put limits on monastic life. For one thing, it took away opportunities to practice greater fervor. In its early days Molesme had known poverty and manual labor, in a definite ascetical framework; now, as a result of seignorial munificence, poverty could no longer claim its original appeal and became practically impossible to observe. This in turn slightened the role of manual labor which ceased to be a necessity. In support of this statement there is Robert of Torigny's information that "Robert, scrutinizing the Rule of St. Benedict to the letter, wished to persuade his monks that they should live from the labor of their hands."[71]

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[70] Exordium Parvum, XII; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 11. Cf. also chs. II, VI and VII; ibid., 6, 8f.--G. Coulton's remarks in this connection deserve to be quoted in full, "The abbey of Molesme, in Burgundy, was a great and respectable house; having made its mark, it had become rich and populous. There is no reason to suppose that it was below the average of other great houses; it was pretty certainly far above the average of the tiny 'cells' among which the monastic population was too often dispersed and which St. Bernard frankly characterized as 'synagogues of Satan.'" Reference is made to St. Bernard's ep. 78 and ep. 254, PL 182, 191ff. and 459ff.

Also, as a popular object of donations Molesme had accepted lands, churches, revenues from altars, tithes, villages, serfs and the like. By 1098 Molesme had some three dozen priories, manors, cells and even priories of women. This not only ran counter to the contemporary ecclesiastical and monastic ideology of renewal, but necessitated harmful contacts with and obligations to the feudal world of the eleventh century. Mention has already been made, how for donations feudal lords, *familiares*, *praebendarii*, pensioners, children and others were accepted by Molesme in a more or less convenient arrangement of a *quid pro quo*. In those days, of course, a monastery could hardly exist without generous patrons. As a rule, they were either blood relatives or related through alliances or feudal ties. Members of their families and allies furnished the main contingent of the monastic community of Molesme. But, as a rule, these noble lords--not always young in age--were little used to a disciplined and well-organized life and showed, consequently, little appreciation and docility in the field of obedience. Used to a life of giving orders, they joined the monastery with preconceived attitudes; monastic discipline and abbatial rule had little effect on their impetuous, intemperate and domineering lordly spirit. Since, as was customary, they brought gifts in exchange for their acceptance by the monastery, arrangements had to be made with them, with the result that Molesme developed more and more intimate bonds with the contemporary feudal world.[72] In the words of J. Laurent,

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[71] "Robertus abbas...Regulam sancti Benedicti perscrutatus ad litteram, voluit persuadere discipulis suis ut labore manuum suarum viverent." *De immutatione ordinis monachorum*, I; PL 202, 1309. Cf. also E. Petit, *op. cit.*, I, 247; O. Ducourneau, *op. cit.*, 35f.; J. Mahn, *op. cit.*, 41; U. Berlière, "L'ordre monastique dès origines au XIIe siècle," *loc cit.*, 266; *idem*, "L'étude des réformes monastiques des Xe et XIe siècles," *loc. cit.*, 215; and R. Folz, "Le problème des origines de Cîteaux," *loc. cit.*, 286.

> It took an active part in the private events of the feudal world; it was even the scene of some manifestations of its public life. Our charters have transmitted to us the memory of four or five feudal courts held at

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[72] According to the editor of its cartulary, Molesme "offers a nearly continuous hospitality to the great and small lords of the territory who all have relatives and friends at Molesme and with their noisy presence time and again disrupt the peace and solitude which, it seems, is the appanage of a place of prayer and recollection." J. Laurent, _op. cit_., I, 113. Cf. also I, 118, 130, 148, 208ff. and II, _passim_; E. Petit, _op. cit_., I, 244f., 247; M. Dmitrewski, _op cit_., 73; S. Lenssen, _op. cit_., 20ff.; J. Bouton, _op. cit_., 50f.; K. Hallinger, _op. cit_., II, 756; U. Berlière, _L'ordre monastique dès origines au XIIe siècle_, 266; idem, "L'étude des réformes monastiques des Xe et XIe siècles," _loc. cit_., 450; and G. Müller, "Gründung der Abtei Cîteaux," _loc. cit_., 36.

> the abbey between...1081 and 1104...under the...first abbot. There were also others.[73]

It is therefore obvious, the same author goes on to say, that the benefactors of Molesme saw the monastery's raison d'etre and its role in a completely different light than those of its monks who labored for monastic renewal. In their mind the monastery's obvious function was to fill certain needs of contemporary society, and the rich lands of which they deprived themselves in favor of Molesme were intended to be in support of this social mission.[74]

According to G. Schreiber, Robert and his companions seceded from Molesme largely for the just mentioned reason: he had enough of the fiscal eigenkirche policy of Molesme and of contemporary Benedictine monachism in general. In this connection the author remarks,

> One may presume that Stephen Harding who left Molesme with Robert perceived the danger of proprietary law even

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[73] Op. cit., I, 141.

[74] J. Laurent writes in this connection, "From the outset, the regional feudal world treats the abbey as a collective foundation. By widely opening its doors, it (Molesme) acquaints them with the need of a moral order, it makes them partners of its interests, and of its whole life. Soon it sees knights resolved to renounce the world hasten to it, and embrace the order of St. Benedict, or else end their days in a secular habit with a prebend that will shield them against the uncertainty of their personal resources; soon it even welcomes women anxious to live under the discipline of the famous abbot Robert." Op. cit., I, 113. Cf. E. Petit, op. cit., I, 244; O. Ducourneau, op. cit., 35f. and S. Lenssen, 21f.

> clearer. For this future abbot of Citeaux...was in all likelihood the intellectually far superior of the two personages. He had, in addition, the great organizational talent of the Anglo-Saxon.[75]

To understand such statements one must know that the Lingonie had been the citadel of proprietary law and Molesme was one of the most notable names connected with it. Cluniac in its organization, it had more churches and chapels than other well-known monasteries. This, then, is why Robert and his companions left Molesme: to found a _different_ monastery in the solitude of Citeaux. As G. Schreiber concluded, "The spirit of the time had changed. The ideal of poverty displayed once more its creative force."[76]

This spirit generated or tied in with the desire of some monks to observe the rule of St. Benedict more perfectly in the monastery of Molesme. The great question however was not--as K. Spahr has demonstrated in opposition to practically all modern historians[77]--whether the Rule should be observed literally. As had been indicated before, life at Molesme had originally followed the customs of Cluny.[78] Some time after the early days however the more advanced members of the community, imbued with the contemporary reform spirit, began to set their aim at an observance of the Rule in--what they considered--its basic demands. This is evident, for instance, from the cartulary of Molesme where the Rule of St. Benedict is not mentioned in the early documents, but figures well in later donations.[79] It is further evident from the *Exordium Cistercii*--a possibly earlier Cistercian document than the so-called *Exordium Parvum*--according to which "men of greater wisdom and insight had come to the realization that although life was holy and honest at Molesme, they nevertheless observed the Rule which they had vowed to keep, less than was their desire and intention."[80] Moreover, in his already cited letter, Hugh of Lyons recalled that in the admission of a number of brethren, the Rule of St. Benedict had not been observed wholeheartedly and in every respect. In another letter, to Pope Paschal II, the archbishop further elaborated this point by stating that the Cistercian pioneers had left Molesme, "to lead a more rigorous and secluded life, following the Rule of St. Benedict."[81] According to the Cistercian Caesarius of Heisterbach, "although they lived honorably in the said monastery [of Molesme], they paid insufficient attention to [the question of] how they observed the Rule which they had professed [to observe]."[82] Even more specific is the Exordium Magnum when telling us,

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[75] _Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters_, 199 n. 182.

[76] _Ibid_., 199 and 198. See also J. Laurent, _op. cit_., I, 111, 146 and II, 353.

[77] "Die Regelauslegung im Neukloster," _Festschrift zum 800-Jahrgedächtnis Bernhards von Clairvaux_ (Wien: Verlag Herold, 1953), 22ff. Cf. O. Ducourneau, _op. cit_., 42f.; R. Folz, "Le problème des origines de Cîteaux," _loc. cit_., 287; A. Cooke, "The Settlement of the Cistercians in England," _English Historical Review_, 8(1893), 626f.; U. Berlière, "Les origines de l'Ordre de Cîteaux," _loc. cit_., 449; and _idem_, "L'étude des réformes monastiques des Xe et XIe siècles," _loc. cit_., 216 on literalism.

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[78] O. Ducourneau, *op. cit.*, 38; J. Bouton, *op. cit.*, 50; R. Folz, "Le problème des origines de Cîteaux," *loc. cit.*, 288; *Aux sources de la vie cartusienne*, 114. See also above, n. 827.

[79] J. Laurent, *op. cit.*, I, 200 and J. Bouton, *op. cit.*, 50.

[80] "Viri nimirum sapientes altius intelligentes, elegerunt pocius studiis celestibus occupari quam terrenis implicari negociis...simulque advertentes ibidem etsi sancte honesteque viveretur, minus tamen pro sui desiderio atque proposito ipsam quam professi fuerant regulam observari." *Exordium Cistercii*, I; J. Van Damme, *op. cit.*, 21. See also J. Lefèvre, "Que savons-nous du Cîteaux primitif?," *loc. cit.*, 7: "The Exordium Cistercii of 1119 is, chronologically, the most ancient account we possess of the Cistercian origins."

> When the servants of God, hearing the daily readings of the Rule in the chapter room, came to see that the Rule prescribed one thing and the customs of the order called for something else, they were greatly saddened realizing that they and the other monks had vowed to observe the Rule of [their] father Benedict by solemn profession, but

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[81] Exordium Parvum, XII; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 11. Cf. also ch. 2, ibid., 6, and D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, 209.

[82] "Quia divitiis virtutibusque diuturna non potest esse societas, viri nimirum sapientes et virtutum amatores, altius intelligentes, licet honeste in praefato coenobio viverent, minus tamen ipsam quam professi fuerant regulam qualiter observant considerantes." Caesarius Heisterbacensis, Dialogus miraculorum (Coloniae: J. M. Heberle, 1851), I, 1. See also Caesarius of Heisterbach, The Dialogue on Miracles, translated by H. V. E. Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland (London: George Rutledge & Sons, Ltd., 1929), I, 5f.; and W. Williams, Monastic Studies, 127.

that they did by no means live in accordance with his institutes.[83]

In their desire to observe the Rule more loyally, these monks "began to concentrate their thoughts on a fruitful poverty."[84] Realizing that their monastery had been greatly blessed with possessions, and convinced that material wealth is not, as a rule, a regular companion of the virtues, they opted for the concern about heavenly things rather than be implicated in the affairs of the world. Besides seeking real poverty, they wished to live "from the work of their hands, in line with the Rule's precepts," Caesarius of Heisterbach tells us.[85] According to the Exordium Magnum, "with their beloved father Benedict, they preferred to be worn out by work rather than feel the relaxation induced by the comforts of this world."[86]

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[83] "Servi Dei...dum cottidianas regulae lectiones in capitulo audirent et aliud regulam praecipere atque aliud consuetudines ordinis tenere perpenderent gravissime contristabantur videntes se ceterosque monachos regulam beati patris Benedicti solemni professione servaturos fore promisisse, sed secundum instituta eius nequaquam vivere." Exordium Magnum, X; B. Griesser, op. cit., 62.

[84] "De paupertate fecunda virorum cogitate ceperunt." Exordium Cistercii, I; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 21.

[85] "De opere manuum suarum, secundum Regulae praeceptum;" Caesarius of Heisterbach, op. cit., I, 1.

[86] "Malentes cum dilecto patre suo Benedicto pro Deo laboribus fatigari quam vitae huius commodis resolvi." Exordium Magnum, XIII; B. Griesser, op. cit., 64.

Won over to the need of leading a life in strict accordance with the Rule of St. Benedict, a life based on poverty, work and prayer, Robert set out to influence others in the same sense. His arguments, given in a talk addressed to the community, are recorded by Ordericus Vitalis. While the address itself may well be a product of Ordericus' imagination, it nonetheless expresses the basic points at issue.[87] To quote Ordericus Vitalis,

> [Robert] studied carefully the Rule of St. Benedict, and having also examined the writings of other holy fathers, he assembled the brethren, and thus addressed them, "My dear brethren, we have made our profession according to the Rule of St. Benedict, but it appears to me that we do not observe it in its integrity. We follow many practices which are not found there, and we negligently omit many which it has enjoined. We do not labor with our hands as we read that the holy fathers did. If you do not believe what I say, my friends, read the acts of St. Anthony, Macarius, Pachomius, and, above all, of the doctor of the gentiles, Paul the apostle. We are supplied with an abundant maintenance in food and clothing from the tithes and oblations of the churches, and, either by address or violence, we appreciate what belongs to the priests. I therefore would wish that we keep the entire Rule of St. Benedict, being careful to deviate from it neither to the right nor to the left. Let us procure what is necessary for food and raiment by the labor of our hands. Let us give up the use of covering for the thighs, and linen and furs, and relinquish tithes and oblation to the clergy who serve the parishes. Thus, treading in the steps of the fathers, we shall labor with zeal to follow Christ.[88]

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[87] R. Folz, "Le problème des origines de Cîteaux," *loc. cit.*, 287.

[88] "Venerabilis Rotbertus abbas coenobium condidit et inspirante gratia Spiritus sancti, discipulos magnae religionis aggregavit, studioque virtutum in sancta paupertate,

In this connection William of Malmesbury furnishes the additional information that two members of the community were appointed "to discover the intention of the founder's rule; and when they had discovered it, to propound it to the rest."[89]

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juxta usum aliorum coenobiorum, comiter instruxit. Post aliquot annos, Sancti Benedicti regulam diligenter perscrutatus est, aliorumque sanctorum documentis Patrum perspectis, convocans fratres, six affatus est: 'Nos, fratres charissimi, secundum Normam sancti Patris Benedicti professionem fecimus. Sed, ut mihi videtur, non eam ex integro tenemus. Multa, quae ibi non recipiuntur, observamus, et de mandatis ejus plura negligentes intermittimus. Manibus nostris non laboramus, ut sanctos Patres fecisse legimus. Si mihi non creditis, o amici, legite gesta sanctorum Antonii, Macarii, Pacomii et ante omnes alios, doctoris gentium, Pauli apostoli. Abundantem victum et vestitum ex decimis et oblationibus ecclesiarum habemus, et ea quae competunt presbyteris, ingenio seu violentia subtrahimus. Sic nimirum sanguine hominum vescimur, et peccatis participamus. Laudo igitur ut omnino Regulam Sancti Benedicti teneamus, caventes ne ad dexteram vel ad sinistram ab ea deviemus. Victum et vestitum labore manuum nostrarum vindicemus. A femoralibus et staminiis, pelliciisque secundum Regulam abstineamus. Decimas et oblationes clericis, qui in dioecesi famulantur, relinquemus. Et sic, per vestigia Patrum, post Christum currere ferventer insudemus." Historia Ecclesiastica, III, viii, 25; PL 188, 637. English translation by Thomas Forester, in Ordericus Vitalis, Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), 39ff. See also J. Bouton, op. cit., 51ff.; and Pierre Salmon, "L'ascèse monastique et les origines de Cîteaux," Mélanges Saint Bernard. XXIVe Congrès de l'Association Bourguignonne des Sociétés Savantes Dijon 1953 (Dijon: Association des Amis de Saint Bernard, 1954), 276.

[89] "Frequentibus ergo capitulis disputatio agitata hunc finem habuit, ut ipse abbas sententiam probaret, supersedendum superfluis, solam medullam regulae vestigandam. Ita duo fratres electi, in quibus scientia literarum cum religione quadraret, qui, vicaria collatione, auctoris regulae voluntatem inquirerent, inquisitam aliis proponerent." Gesta Regum Anglorum, IV; PL 179, 1288. English translation by John Sharpe, in The History of the Kings of England and

A majority of the monks of Molesme saw no need for changing the relationship between the Rule and the monastic customs of the day. As Ordericus Vitalis further reports,

> The convent of monks did not agree to these proposals; they objected to innovations which would alter their usages, the examples and precepts of their predecessors...They further replied, "As long as we find the monks of Cluny and Tours (Marmoutier), and the other clergy maintaining these institutions we shall not depart from them; for we are unwilling to be condemned by our brethren, far and wide, as reckless innovators and inventors of novel practices.[90]

According to the oldest extant manuscript of the Exordium Parvum, there was no possibility of a compromise between the two groups, for to the pioneers of Cîteaux the traditional way of life was a deliberate violation of their monastic profession; in other words, a perjury. To quote from the account,

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the Modern History of William of Malmesbury (London: Longman & Co., 1815). Cf. also D. Ducourneau, op. cit., 42; W. Parker Mason, "The Beginnings of the Cistercian Order," loc. cit., 174; U. Berlière, L'ordre monastique dès origines au XIIe siècle, 266; J. Bouton, op. cit., 51.

[90] "Monachorum conventus non acquievit; imo praedecessorum quorum vita evidentibus miraculis insignita manifeste refulsit, exempla et instituta venerabilium vestigiis trita virorum, moderatis novitatibus objecit...Ad haec monachi responderunt...Quandiu Cluniacenses, sive Turonenses, aliique regulares viri ea nacti fuerint, non dimittemus; nec, ut temerarii, novitatum adinventores, a fratribus nostris longe lateque condemnari volumus." Historia Ecclesiastica, III, viii, 25; PL 188, 637f. and 640. Cf. P. Salmon, "L'ascèse monastique et les origines de Cîteaux," loc. cit., 276f.; A. Cooke, "A Study in Twelfth Century Religious Revival and Reform," loc. cit., 145f. and 189; and U. Berlière, "L'étude des réformes monastiques des Xe et XIe siècles," loc. cit.,215.

> These men while still living in Molesme and inspired by divine grace, often spoke, complained about and lamented the transgression of the Rule of St. Benedict, the father of monks, among themselves. They realized that they and the other monks, though they had promised to follow the Rule by solemn vow, had not observed it at all, and had therefore knowingly fallen into the crime of perjury.[91]

The Exordium Magnum saw the problem in the same light,

> The aforementioned abbot and the brethren who were animated by the desire of renewing monastic life, proceeded to him--Hugh of Lyons--and humbly opened to him the ardor and desires of their heart. They deplored that the customs of the order differed too much from the Rule they had made their profession to and they therefore admitted in sadness that they clearly and knowingly incured the crime of perjury.[92]

As for the problem of perjury, S. Lenssen believed that the last phrase, on perjury, was inserted by Conrad of Eberbach, the author of the Exordium Magnum, for reasons other than fairness.[93] Since then, however, older texts of the Exordium Parvum containing the crucial passage have been found. The passage may therefore be genuine; it would show that the author of the Exordium Parvum is speaking in very plain terms, permitting no feeling of embarassment or shame to cloud the issues. Induced by the phrase, "and for this reason," some however still feel that the passage is a later addition to the text.[94] This led J. Turk to conclude, "the pioneers of Citeaux founded the New Monastery (Citeaux) and the (Cistercian) order out of an erroneous conscience and a formal sin of perjury." But because the passage could have embarrased succeeding Cistercian generations and furnished arguments for their adversaries, it was deleted from the Exordium Parvum texts, a practice not unknown in those days.[95] Disagreeing with J. Turk, K. Spahr concedes the possibility that the compilers of a later Exordium Parvum edition omitted the passage in question so as not to offend the Black Monks with the allegation that the founders of Citeaux, while observing the usages of the former at Molesme, considered themselves guilty of perjury. But, in his view, the omission was not made in fear of possible adversaries; it was undertaken for the purpose of conciliating souls.[96] K. Spahr also pointed out that the phrase "and for this reason they had knowingly fallen into the crime of perjury" was characteristic of contemporary mentality and should not be seen, as J. Turk did, a specifically Cistercian problem since practically the same case figures also in the Decretum de professione clericorum and the Decretum Gratiani. And already St. Ambrose taught, "A lie is: to take the vows of a bishop, priest, or cleric and do things contrary to this order."[97] The Cistercians, it seems, simply applied this text to the monastic profession, with the consequences just described.

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[91] K. Spahr, De fontibus constitutivis primigenii juris constitutionalis Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, 47f. Cf. Joseph Turk, "Cistercii Statuta antiquissima," Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, 4(1948), 32, and 40 n. 8.

[92] "Hunc (Hugh of Lyons) ergo praedictus abbas et fratres, qui desiderio innovandae monasticae religionis flagrabant, adeunt, aestus et vota cordium suorum humiliter pandunt, consuetudines ordinis a regula, quam professi erant, nimium discrepare conqueruntur et propterea manifeste periurii crimen se scienter incurrisse dolendo fatentur." Exordium Magnum, XI; B. Griesser, op. cit., 63. Cf. also ch. X; ibid., 62.

[93] Op. cit., 12.

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[94] K. Spahr, De fontibus constitutivis primigenii juris constitutionalis Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, 47f. See also J. Turk, "Cistercii Statuta Antiquissima," loc. cit., 40 n. 8.

[95] "Sensus...verborum esset fundatores Cistercii ex conscientia erronea et ex formali peccato periurii Novum Monasterium et Ordinem condidisse.--Ex eisdem verbis etiam adversarii contra Cistercienses argumentum desumere potuissent. Ideo pro posteris petra scandali facta et ab iis ex metu adversariorum vel ex verecundia deleta sunt." "Cistercii Statuta Antiquissima," loc. cit., 40 n. 8.

The issues debated by the community of Molesme reveal a striking similarity with the main features of the early Cistercian reform. This raises the question about the latter's real "home." J. Laurent, the editor of its cartulary, saw in Molesme a meeting place between Cluny and Cîteaux; he believed that the Cistercian reform actually began at Molesme.[98] K. Spahr who published the critical edition of Robert's *vita*, agrees with this view. "It is clear--he writes--that the Cistercian monks while still at Molesme accurately envisioned their future way of life; but they realized within a short time that the latter could not be carried out at Molesme."[99] These views were shared by A. Manrique, the editors who published Robert's life in the *Acta Sanctorum*, J. Mabillon, the anonymous late-nineteenth-century historian of Lérins, U. Berlière and Anselme LeBail. They based their judgment on the accounts of the so-called *Exordium Cistercii* and the statutes of the Cistercian monks who departed from Molesme, contained in the *Exordium Parvum*. Some also find it important that Alberic, a leader of the

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[96] "Concedi potest redactores posteriores recensionis EC (i.e. of the Exordium Parvum,since Spahr uses a different terminology) has voces praetermisisse, ne monachos nigros offenderent, si Cistercii fundatores eadem observantia Molismo viventes se periuros putavissent. Omissio non est facta metu adversariorum, sed magis ad conciliandos animos." De fontibus constitutivis primigenii juris constitutionalis Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, 48.

[97] "Mendacium est, episcopum, sacerdotem vel clericum se profiteri, et contraria huic operari." Decretum Gratiani, II, xxii, V, xx; PL 187, 1158. Cf. ibid., xix: "Mendacium autem non solum in verbis, sed etiam in simulatis operibus esse probatur." See also Aemilius L. Richter (ed.), Corpus Juris Canonici (Lipsiae: Sumptibus Bernh. Tauchnitz Jun., 1839), I, 765f.; and K. Spahr, De fontibus constitutivis primigenii juris constitutionalis Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, 49f. and 70 n. 28.

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[98] *Op. cit.*, I, 111f. Cf. A. Cooke, "A Study in Twelfth Century Religious Revival and Reform," *loc. cit.*, 145.

[99] "Constat monachos Cistercienses iam Molismi degentes futuram suae vitae formam accurate sibi proposuisse. Brevi tamen eis persuasum erat propositam vitae forman Molismi exequi nequisse." *De fontibus constitutivis primigenii juris constitutionalis Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, 31.

Cistercian reform, had been at Molesme from its early days, and, possibly, even at Collan.[100]

O. Ducourneau called these views "suppositions that nothing justifies." According to him, the documents dealing with early Molesme show no trace of an intention to found a new reform monastery or to have an observance different from that of other well-functioning contemporary monasteries. Besides, the traditional monastic observances were passably strict and formed the basis of monastic reform during the preceding two centuries. Also, no contemporary viewed Molesme as an innovator, whereas Cîteaux faced such accusations from its very beginning. Then there is the testimony of Ordericus Vitalis that Robert, raised in the Cluniac tradition, simply introduced traditional customs in his monastery. There is no indication anywhere that Robert was animated, as early as the mid-seventies of the eleventh century, by the ideals championed some twenty years later by the Cistercian pioneers.[101] To this S. Lenssen adds "that neither the letter nor the spirit of the Institutes have guided the foundation of Molesme, even though the spirit was analogous to that which inspired the establishment of Cîteaux." Molesme did not become a Cîteaux, however, because its ideal was not sufficiently crystallized. But the founders of Cîteaux were able to define their ideal in a very concrete manner: "Having learned from experience, and anxious to prevent the dangers stemming from extreme wealth, they...clearly distinguished between the superfluous and the necessary." One should therefore conclude: Even if the idea of Cîteaux was not in evidence in the early years of Molesme--one should only think of the acceptance of altars, tithes, etc.--it was definitely taking shape before the exodus to Cîteaux, and there is no documentary evidence to suggest that its true author was not St. Robert himself.[102]

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[100] A. Manrique, *op. cit.*, I, 23; AS, Apr. III, 671; J. Mabillon, *op. cit.*, V, 93; (E. Hautcoeur), *op. cit.*, 21 and 28; U. Berlière, *L'ordre monastique dès origines au XIIe siècle*, 247; *idem*, "L'étude des réformes monastiques des Xe et XIe siècles," *loc. cit.*, 215f. and 229; S. Lenssen, *op. cit.*, 25f.; Anselme Le Bail, *L'ordre de Cîteaux* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1947), 20f. Cf. also *Exordium Parvum*, III, IV and XII; J. Van Damme, *op. cit.*, 7 and 11.

[101] *Op. cit.*, 37f.

As for the original authorship of the Cistercian idea, historians and modern manuals move in different directions, attributing the honor either to Robert, or to one of his immediate successors, i.e. Alberic, or Stephen Harding.

In his already quoted passage Ordericus Vitalis credited Robert with the conception of the Cistercian reform.

> The venerable abbot Robert--he writes--...studied carefully the Rule of St. Benedict...He assembled the brethren

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[102] Op. cit., 26f. Cf. also 25.

> and thus addressed them: "My dear brethren, we have made our profession according to the Rule of St. Benedict, but it appears to me that we do not observe it in its integrity...I therefore propose that we keep the entire Rule of St. Benedict, being careful to deviate from it neither to the right hand or the left...The convent of monks did not agree...The abbot, persisting in his opinion, withdrew from them with twelve of the number who agreed with him, and it was a long time before he could find a suitable place for himself and his companions where they might observe the Rule of St. Benedict to the letter, as the Jews kept the law of Moses.[103]

The Cistercian author of the Dialogus inter Cluniacensem et Cisterciensem monachum (composed a. 1170) seems to agree with Ordericus Vitalis, when writing,

> The founders of our order recorded their deeds...These I relate in a brief summary...The abbot of Molesme...and some of his brethren frequently spoke and complained among themselves about the transgression of the Rule... This is why they came to this solitude (i.e. Citeaux).[104]

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[103] "Venerabilis Rodbertus...abbas...Sancti Benedicti regulam diligenter perscrutatus est, convocans fratres sic affatus est: 'Nos, fratres charissimi, secundum Normam sancti Patris Benedicti professionem fecimus. Sed, ut mihi videtur, non eam ex integro tenemus...Laudo igitur ut omnino Regulam Sancti Benedicti teneamus, caventes ne ad dexteram vel ad sinistram ab ea deviemus...Monachorum chorus non acquievit... Abbas, in sua satis pertinax sententia, recessit ab eis, cum duodecim sibi assentientibus. Diuque locum quaesivit idoneum sibi suisque sodalibus, qui sancti decreverant Regulam Benedicti sicut Judaei legem Moysi ad litteram servare penitus." Historia Ecclesiastica, III, viii; PL 188, 636f.

[104] "Auctores nostri Ordinis gesta sua scripserunt... Eadem brevi summa refero. Molismensis abbas...et quidam fratres ejus saepius inter se...de transgressione Regulae... loquebantur, conquerebantur...Propter hoc ad hanc solitudinem... veniebant." Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum (Parisiis: F. Delaulne, 1717), V, 1593.

Robert of Torigny, another Benedictine chronicler, also champions Robert's cause,

> Robert, having studied the Rule of St. Benedict to the letter, wished to persuade his followers to live by the work of their hands...But they, holding fast to the customs prevailing in the monasteries of the West...said that they could not renounce them. Robert, unyielding, left them, with twenty-one monks who agreed with him.[105]

These assertions however seem to exaggerate Robert's role if one considers the fact that neither the documents of the Exordium Parvum nor any other early Cistercian writing single out Robert as the real originator of the Cistercian reform. Moreover, as the Exordium Magnum explicitly states, Robert heard about the reform plans only when their proponents came to him with their problems; he then joined them, "suddenly overcome by compunction."[106] The decision was not really his, nor was it the result of long reflection. Finally, there is the argument that none of the twelfth-century Cistercian authors include Robert in the catalog of the abbots of Citeaux, and this not just to express their misgivings about Robert's return to Molesme. All this led S. Lenssen, a recent biographer of St. Robert, to the conclusion, "Let us resign ourselves to the fact of refusing the authorship of Citeaux to St. Robert."[107]

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[105] "Robertus abbas...Regulam sancti Benedicti perscrutatus ad litteram, voluit persuadere discipulis suis ut labore manuum suarum viverent...At illi...nitentes consuetudinibus quae in occidui orbis monasteriis observabantur... dicebant se ab eis non recedere...Robertus...in sua sententia permanens, recessit ab eis cum viginti et uno sibi assentientibus." Tractatus de immutatione ordinis monachorum, I, 1; PL 202, 309f.

[106] "Ad horam compunctus abbas ille propositum servorum Dei laudat." Exordium Magnum, X; B. Griesser, op. cit., 63.

Should the honor of conceiving the Cistercian reform therefore go to Alberic? Both _exordia_ answer in the affirmative. To quote the _Exordium Parvum_,

> They elevated a certain brother by the name of Alberic to be their abbot. He was a man of letters, well versed in both divine and human sciences, and a lover of the

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[107] _Op. cit._, 31. Cf. P. Salmon, "L'ascèse monastique et les origines de Cîteaux," _loc. cit._, 276. It may well be to quote also D. Knowles who writes, "The history of Molesme and of the early days of Cîteaux would seem to show at least that his (i.e. Robert's) clarity of vision and talent for organization were not above those of previous reformers and that, if he had not attracted disciples of another temper, not only Molesme, but Cîteaux itself, would have gone the way of similar ventures in the past." _The Monastic Order in England_, 198. O. Ducourneau is even more severe in his evaluation of Robert. "Robert was not of the stature to repress a revolt--he writes--he believed he could not triumph over the indocility of the recalcitrants; discouraged, in fear, trembling for his own virtue, the feeble abbot, as previously at Saint-Michel, took the stand of retiring." _Op. cit._, 36. _Ibid._, 50, he even speaks of "Robert's weakness of character and his pusillanimity."--But Robert has not only critics. Of the long list of admirers it will suffice to quote E. Petit: "His (Robert's) memory ought to be venerated in all the monasteries of Christendom...By conferring the honor of sainthood on the greatest reformer of this age, it (the Church) has but ratified the sentiment of his contemporaries." I, 293. Cf. also J. Mabillon, _op. cit._, V, 192, 379 and 448; _Aux sources de la vie cartusienne_, 139; B. Bligny, _L'Eglise et les ordres réligieux_, 319; and J. Lefèvre, "S. Robert de Molesme," _loc. cit._, 50ff.

> Rule and the brethren. For a long time he had served as prior in the community of Molesme as well as here (i.e. Citeaux) and he had long urged the brethren to move from Molesme to this place, for which endeavors he had had to suffer many insults, prison and beatings.[108]

In more recent times Alberic found a strong champion in Gregor Müller, the founder of the Cistercienser-Chronik. According to the latter,

> Robert appointed Alberic prior [of Molesme]...The more the latter delved into the study of the Rule, compared its prescriptions with life in the abbey, and realized that it was not in a satisfactory harmony with it, the more vigorously he labored to secure them their right... But because he also wished to remove customs and usages...the storm broke loose. But Alberic wanted more than to remove mere abuses; his ideal was to secure recognition for the prescriptions of the Rule...in its full extent, without any mitigation...Some [monks] were ready to accept the plan the prior had proposed to them. Especially enthusiastic was the monks Stephen..Since Alberic and Stephen realized that there could be no thought of executing their plan at Molesme, they decided to carry it out at another place. But it was time now to reveal their intention to the abbot...After mature reflection...Robert declared himself...ready to participate in its execution.[109]

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[108] "Viduata igitur suo pastore cisterciensis ecclesia convenit ac regulari electione, quendam fratrem albericum nomine in abbatem sibi promovit, virum scilicet litteratum in divinis et in humanis satis gnarum, amatorem regule et fratrum quique prioris officium et in molismensi et in illa diutius gerebat ecclesia, multumque diu nitendo laboraverat, ut ad illum de molismo transmigrarent fratres locum, et pro hoc negotio multa opprobria carcerem et verbera perpessus fuerat." Exordium Parvum, IX; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 10. Cf. below, n. 119.

[109] Vom Cistercienser Orden (Bregenz: J. N. Teutsch, 1927), 9f.

Evaluating these conclusions one must however say that they are drawn from now questioned documentary evidence.[110] It is not possible therefore to declare the Cistercian reform the brainchild of St. Alberic, no matter how strongly sentiments of piety would suggest such an action.

Of Stephen Harding's role in the creation of the Cistercian ideals William of Malmesbury, Stephen's contemporary, writes,

> It redounds to the glory of England to have produced the distinguished man who was the author and promoter of that order. To us he belonged, and in our schools passed the earlier part of his life. Wherefore, if we are not envious, we shall embrace his good qualities the more kindly, in proportion as we know them more intimately...He was named Harding.[111]

Helinand of Froidmont, a Cistercian of the early thirteenth century, advocated similar views.

> From the monastery of Molesme twenty-one monks went with...Robert to Cîteaux...It belongs to the glory of England to have produced the man who was the founder and

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[110] J. Lefèvre, "Que savons-nous du Cîteaux primitif?," loc. cit., 9ff.

[111] "Ejus diebus religio Cistellensis coepit, quae nunc optima via in coelum processus et creditur et dicitur. De qua hic loqui suscepti operis non videtur esse contrarium, quod ad Angliae gloriam pertineat, quae talem virum produxerit qui hujusce religionis fuerit et auctor et mediator. Noster ille, et nostra puer in palestra primi aevi tirocinium cucurrit. Quapropter, si non invidi sumus, eo illius bona complectimur gratiosius quo agnoscimus propinquius; simul et laudes ejus attollere mihi est animus, quia ingenua mens est si bonum in alio probes quod in te non esse suspires. Is fuit Hardingus nomine." Gesta Regum Anglorum, IV; PL 179, 1286f.

> promoter of this order. He was Harding...When he was told to do certain things not mentioned by the Rule, he set out to investigate their motivating reasons and disputed so long with the one or the other [of the monks] about some superfluous customs that he won over the abbot himself and twenty-two others to his opinion. This is how they came to Cistellae.[112]

The Exordium Magnum, besides excluding Robert from any leading influence in the formulation of the reform, also points to Stephen's leadership in the reform project. It states in unmistakeable terms,

> Whenever there had been a discussion about the renewal of the order, Stephen worked with the utmost zeal, first among the first, and vigorously urged that the place and institute of Cîteaux be established.[113]

William of Malmesbury made Stephen Harding the originator of the movement which led to the foundation of Cîteaux. He may or may not be right in his evaluation. In any case he knew only the Sherborne version of the story, and Sherborne, where Stephen Harding had spent his youth, was not far from Malmesbury. It will therefore be better, also in view of the great variety of answers to the question of the authorship of the Cistercian reform, to conclude with W. Parker Mason,

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[112] "Ex coenobio Molismensi viginti et unus monachi cum...Roberto Cistercium devenerunt...Pertinet...ad gloriam Angliae, quod talem virum genuit, qui hujus religionis auctor fuit et mediator. Is fuit Hardingus...Cum ei quaedam proponerentur observanda quae non erant de Regula, coepit eorum rationem inquirere, et tamdiu de quibusdam superfluis cum uno et alio disputavit, ut abbatem ipsum et alios 22 in suam sententiam induceret. Igitur Cistellas venere." Chronicon, XXXXVII; PL 212, 990f. Stephen's argumentation is reproduced in William of Malmesbury, loc.cit.; PL 179, 1287f.

[113] "Cum verbum innovandae religionis in eadem domo motum fuisset, ipse primus inter primos ferventissimo studio laboravit ac modis omnibus institit, ut locus et ordo Cisterciensis institueretur." Exordium Magnum, XX; B. Griesser, op. cit., 77.

> Were William of Malmesbury the only authority, it might be supposed that Stephen was the prime mover in the whole matter. Probably this is merely an exaggeration of the truth. Robert was almost certainly the older: his experiences, both religious and temporal, had been varied, and he was always a reformer at heart; but the very humility and gentleness that counted for so much in his saintliness were drawbacks and hindrances to the vigorous prosecution of reforms energetically resisted by comfortable recluses. Hence the whole idea may well have been Robert's, but probably Alberic and Stephen, both hard-headed, business-like men, made it explicit, and as in William of Malmesbury's account, Stephen, it is likely enough, made with Robert's approval, the actual proposal for a stricter adherence to the Benedictine rule.[114]

To determine the date of the secession from Molesme, one must consult the last document bearing Robert's name before his departure to Citeaux; it is dated April 5, 1097.

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[114] Op. cit., 173f. See also J. Lefèvre, "Que savons-nous du Citeaux primitif?," loc. cit., 41: "To whom to attribute the fatherhood of the practical points of the reform? To Robert of Molesme alone? To Alberic, his successor? To the two first abbots conjointly, with the second prolonging the impulse given by the first? These passion-stirring questions are without an answer, and the Cistercian origins remain surrounded by numerous obscurities. Fact is that the juridical documents in our possession all refer to the second stage of the Cistercian reform: 1114-1119, i.e. to the time of the order. The first and most important (stage), that of 1098-1100, escapes us almost completely. One must have the simplicity to admit: A thousand interpretations, no matter how ingenuously conceived, will never replace the documents we do not have."

The Exordium Cistercii on the other hand tells us that Cîteaux became an abbey in 1098, "after many labors and great difficulties." The two dates and his belief that the legate's letter in the Exordium Parvum was not the permissio abeundi from Molesme, but the document erecting Cîteaux into an abbey, led J. Lefèvre to the conclusion that Robert and his companions departed from Molesme some time during 1097; after Easter, to be more precise.[115] On this point J. Lefèvre differs from the whole Cistercian and non-Cistercian tradition, both historical and literary, according to which the petitioners went to Hugh of Lyons in the early days of 1098, i.e. shortly before Cîteaux was established on March 21st, the feast of St. Benedict which fell on Palm Sunday that year.[116] He still needs to explain, however, the passage in the legatine document, "it would be expedient for you to retire to another place which the Divine Munificence will point out to you."[117] For, if in the document the site of the new establishment is still unknown, how can it be a decree of the latter's canonical erection into an abbey?

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[115] J. Laurent, op. cit., II, 122. Cf. Exordium Cistercii, II: "Post multos labores...anno itaque ab incarnatione domini millesimo nonagesimo octavo...inventam heremum in abbatiam construere ceperunt." J. Van Damme, op. cit., 22. See also J. Lefèvre, "Que savons-nous du Cîteaux primitif?," loc. cit., 21: "An examination of the authentic sources undertaken without taking sides justifies the answer: The departure of the future Cistercians from Molesme took place spontaneously, without any recourse to the normal superior authority, in this case to the bishop of Langres, the ordinary of Molesme." Cf. also ibid., 22f.

[116] "Anno igitur ab incarnatione Domini millesimo nonagesimo octavo...duodecimo Kalendas Aprilis, solemni scilicet die natalis sanctissimi Benedicti, quem geminata laetitia tunc celebrem reddiderat ob dominicam Palmarum, quae in ipsum occurrerat, laetantibus angelis, tabescentibus daemonibus Cisterciensis domus ac per hoc totius Cisterciensis ordinis religio per viros ad christianam philosophiam penitus expeditor exordium sumpsit." Exordium Magnum, XIII; B.

J. Lefèvre still contends that Robert and his companions left Molesme without the permission of the local ordinary. For the Exordium Cistercii mentions no such authorization in connection with the exodus from Molesme, while doing so when reporting the canonical erection of Cîteaux into an abbey. On the other hand, when returning from Cîteaux to Molesme, Robert did so with the permission of Walter of Chalon, the local ordinary. Thus, according to J. Lefèvre, the seceders had no permissio abeundi a fact which prompted the author of the Exordium Parvum to transpose archbishop Hugh's letter: given, originally, on the occasion of Cîteaux's erection into an abbey, he made it the official justification

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Griesser, op. cit., 64f. See also O. Ducourneau, op. cit., 45; S. Lenssen, op. cit., 40; Louis Lekai, The White Monks (Okauchee, Wis.: Spring Bank, 1953), 18; J. Bouton, op. cit., 54; and G. Müller, "Gründung der Abtei Cîteaux," loc. cit., 66.

[117] "Nos utriusque partis saluti, videlicet inde recedentium atque illic remanentium providentes, in locum alium quem vobis largitas divina designaverit vos declinare, ibique salubrius atque quietius domino famulari, utile duximus fore." Exordium Parvum, II; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 6.

of the illegal exodus from Molesme.[118]

The secession of Robert and the twenty-odd monks from Molesme was something unheard-of in contemporary monastic circles; it was something like a scandal, and this all the more since the abbot himself had joined. To correct this impression, the author of the Exordium Parvum inserted documentary proof--eight original documents--into his account.[119]

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[118] "Que savons-nous du Cîteaux primitif?," *loc. cit.*, 21ff. More on the problems raised in connection with the *Exordium Parvum* is found in A. Manrique, *op. cit.*, I, 5 and 112; W. Parker Mason, "The Beginnings of the Cistercian Order," *loc. cit.*, 176; G. Schreiber, *Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters*, 354; D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 209; *idem*, *Great Historical Enterprises. Problems in Monastic History* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1963), 217f. and 220; K. Spahr, *De fontibus constitutivis primigenii juris constitutionalis Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, 43ff. and 69 n. 10; *idem*, "Die Anfänge von Cîteaux," *Bernhard von Clairvaux Mönch und Mystiker* (Internationaler Bernhardkongress Mainz, 1953; Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1955), 218; *idem*, "Neue Beiträge zur Ordensgeschichte," *Cistercienser-Chronik*, 58(1951), 31; *idem*, "Cistercienser Bibliothek," *Cistercienser Chronik*, 70(1963), 113; U. Berlière, "L'étude des réformes monastiques des Xe et XIe siècles," *loc. cit.*, 221; J. Lefèvre, "S. Robert de Molesme," *loc. cit.*, 52ff.; *idem*, "Le vrai récit primitif des origines de Cîteaux est-il l'Exordium Parvum?," *Le Moyen Age*, 61(1955), 79ff. and 329ff.; Alain D'Herblay, "Le problème des origines cisterciennes," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 50(1955), 158ff.; François Masai, "Les études cisterciennes de J. A. Lefèvre," *Scriptorium*, 11(1957), 119ff.; Jean Leclercq, "L"Exordium Cisterdi et la Summa Cartae Caritatis sont-ils de Saint Bernard?," *Revue Bénédictine*, 73(1963), 89ff.; Leopold Grill, "Der hl. Bernhard als bisher unerkannter Verfasser des Exordium Cistercii und der Summa Cartae Caritatis," *Cistercienser-Chronik*, 66(1959), 43ff.; Jean B. Van Damme, "Autour des origines cisterciennes," *Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorum*, 20(1958), 78, 82ff., 137f., 148ff. and 155f.; C. Dereine, "La fondation de Cîteaux d'après l'Exordium Cistercii et l'Exordium Parvum," *Cîteaux*, 10(1959), 126 and 131; Polykarp Zakar, "Die Anfänge des Zisterzienserordens," *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, 20(1964), 113, 117ff., 129, and 134ff.

Still, was the transitus authorized? To answer the question one must consult the Exordium Cistercii according to which the Cistercian pioneers saw their solitude raised to an abbey through the counsel and the authority of the papal legate, the bishop of Chalons and the duke of Burgundy.[120] Such support would hardly have been forthcoming had the exodus from Molesme been unauthorized. Moreover, in view of the multitude of new forms of religious and monastic life in the eleventh century--it is enough to think of the canons and solitaries--the question of a free transitus was frequently raised by such authorities as Burchard of Worms, Anselm of Lucca and Ivo of Chartres who painstakingly collected all available previous canonical texts dealing with the subject. In general, the consensus was that the normal desire for a more perfect life should not be opposed.[121] The IV. Council of Toledo allowed a transitus ad vitam arctiorem without the superior's permission, a case also mentioned by Abbo of Fleury.[122] In addition, there was the contemporary legislation granting free passage to a more perfect life. In 1085 the abbot of Saint-Vannes in Verdun and several of his monks had been expelled from their abbey by the imperial bishop Thierry. They found refuge at Saint Benignus abbey in Dijon. When after some time the abbot of the latter proposed that they change their vows to Saint Benignus, the question arose whether a second profession was legitimate in view of the vows--stability, etc.--made to Saint Vannes. To decide the issue it was agreed to consult Hugh of Cluny[123] and archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury. The latter, in favor of a transitus, reasoned this way,

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[119] J. Lefèvre, "Que savons-nous du Cîteaux primitif?," loc. cit., 22. Cf. R. Folz, "Le problème des origines de Cîteaux," loc. cit., 288f.; R. Southern, op. cit., 166; and G. Müller, "Gründung der Abtei Cîteaux," loc. cit., 66. In view of the still unresolved controversies surrounding the Exordium Parvum, only the authentic letters are used for documentation in this paper.

[120] "Anno itaque ab incarnatione domini millesimo nonagesimo octavo, venerabilis hugonis lugdunensis ecclesie archiepiscopi sedis apostolice tunc legati, et religiosi viri walterii cabilonensis episcopi, necnon et clarissimi principis oddonis burgundie ducis freti consilio, auctoritate roborati, inventam heremum in abbatiam construere ceperunt." Exordium Cistercii, II; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 22.

> If I, Lanfranc, should vow with my own hand not to leave a certain monastery, but then see that I could not save my soul there, I would leave, nor would I incur the crime

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[121] C. Dereine, "La fondation de Citeaux d'après l'Exordium Cistercii et l'Exordium Parvum," loc. cit., 127f. For the references see ibid., 127 n. 11.

[122] Mansi 10, 631 and PL 139, 487. Cf. C. Dereine, "La fondation de Citeaux d'après l'Exordium Cistercii et l'Exordium Parvum," loc. cit., 127.

[123] Hugh of Flavigny, Chronicon; PL 164, 342. Cf. C. Dereine, "La fondation de Citeaux d'après l'Exordium Cistercii et l'Exordium Parvum," loc. cit., 128f.

> of perjury. For he who is tied to God because of God is not severed from Him, unless he is severed against Him.[124]

In another case, in 1098 Pope Urban II gave permission to the monks of St. Hubert's in the diocese of Liege, harassed by the imperial bishop Othbert, to move to another monastery, "if you are unable to live in your monastery according to the Rule of St. Benedict and in fidelity to apostolic truth."[125] This was in line with contemporary thinking that a distinction must be made between positive law (lex publica) and the law of one's own conscience (lex privata). According to the Pope, the Church's legislation on stability is based on the former and given "on account of the transgressors." But it may not be invoked when the law of one's conscience (which is superior to it) urges a person to seek a more perfect life. For,

> those who act by the Spirit of God, are led by the law of God. Therefore, whoever is led by the Spirit of God, let him freely go on our authority, even if his bishop should contradict.[126]

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[124] "Si ego Lanfrancus manu propria me de aliquo monasterio non recessurum jurarem, viderem autem quod ibi animam meam salvare non possem, exirem nec periurii crimen incurrerem. Qui enim Deo propter Deum alligatur, non solvitur ab ipso nisi contra ipsum solvatur." Ep. 60; PL 150, 549f.

[125] "Si in monasterio vestro secundum Beati Benedicti regulam et apostolicam veritatem vivere non valetis." Cf. C. Dereine, "La fondation de Cîteaux d'après l'Exordium Cistercii et l'Exordium Parvum," loc. cit., 128 n. 16. The Pope's letter is found in PL 151,511.

[126] "Urbanus papa secundus, Duae, inquit, leges sunt,

In later times, St. Bernard and Pope Innocent III wrote in the same sense. The latter allowed *transitus* to a stricter monastery with and even without the authorization of the local ordinary. To lead a more perfect life elsewhere, Robert and his followers could thus leave Molesme without the ordinary's permission. For the return to the basic demands of the Rule was an aspiration to a more perfect life, a *religio major* or a *religio altior*, which justified a free *transitus*.[127]

In the account of the *Exordium Parvum*, the legate's permission to secede from Molesme extended to "abbot Robert and the brethren Alberic, Odo, John, Stephen, Letald and

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una publica, altera privata; publica lex est quae a sanctis Patribus scripta est firmata, ut est lex canonum, quae quidem propter transgressores est tradita; verbi gratia, decretum est in canonibus clericum non debere de suo episcopatu ad alium transire, nisi commendatitiis litteris episcopi sui, quod propter criminosos sic statutum est...Lex vero privata, quod instinctum est sancti Spiritus, in corde scribitur, sicut de quibusdam dicit Apostolus, qui habent legem Dei scriptam in cordibus suis, et sibi et ipsi sancti sunt lex. Si quis horum in Ecclesia sua sub episcopo suo proprium retinet et saeculariter vivit, si afflante Spiritu sancto in aliquo monasterio se salvare voluerit, quia lege privata ducitur, nulla ratio exigit ut a publica constringatur; dignior est enim privata lex quam publica. Spiritus quidem Dei lex est, et qui Spiritu Dei aguntur, lege Dei ducuntur. Et quis est qui possit Spiritui sancto digne resistere? Quisquis ergo hoc Spiritu ducitur, et episcopo suo contradicente, eat liber nostra auctoritate." *Ep*.CCLXXVIII; PL 151, 535. Cf. Mansi 20, 714 and C. Dereine, "La fondation de Cîteaux d'après l'Exordium Cistercii et l'Exordium Parvum," *loc. cit*., 128.

[127] For St. Bernard, see *ep*. 253, PL 182, 455ff.; for Innocent III cf. *Decretales Gregorii Papae IX*, IX, iii. XXXI, 18 in A. Richter, *op. cit*., 554f. See also R. Folz, "Le problème des origines de Cîteaux," *loc. cit*., 288 and 293 and

Peter" who had all gone to Lyons, and to all others who, after the formers' return from Lyons, "properly and by unanimous consent have decided to join."[128] Eventually, as the Exordium Cistercii testifies, the number rose to "twenty-one monks and the father of that monastery, Robert of blessed memory."[129]

If J. Lefevre's reasoning is correct, the secession took place in 1097, some time after Easter.[130] The site of the new establishment had not yet been determined when Robert and his companions went to Lyons to negotiate with the papal legate, as the latter's expression "it would be expedient to

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C. Dereine, "La fondation de Cîteaux d'après l'Exordium Cistercii et l'Exordium Parvum," loc. cit., 128.

[128] "Roberto abbati, fratribus quoque alberico, odoni, joanni, stephano, letaldo et petro, sed et omnibus quos regulariter et communi consilio vobis sociare decreveritis." Exordium Parvum, II; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 6.

[129] "Viginti et unus monachi una cum patre ipsius monasterii, beate videlicet memorie Roberto egressi." Exordium Cistercii, I; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 22. Cf. also Exordium Magnum, XIII; B. Griesser, op. cit., 64; RHF, XIV, 381; Caesarius of Heisterbach, op. cit., I, 1; O. Ducourneau, op. cit., 47; L. Lekai, op. cit., 18; J. Bouton, op. cit., 53 (14); W. Parker Mason, "The Beginnings of the Cistercian Order," loc. cit., 178 n. 1, and G. Müller, "Gründung der Abtei Cîteaux," loc. cit., 68.

[130] Cf. above, n. 115. For more details--real or fictitious--of the exodus, see Exordium Magnum, XII; B. Griesser, op. cit., 64f.; PL 157, 1265; E. Petit, op. cit., I, 248; O. Ducourneau, op. cit., 53f.; G. Coulton, op. cit., I, 280; R. Folz, "Le problème des origines de Cîteaux," loc. cit., 287; J. Bouton, op. cit., 51f.; W. Parker Mason, "The Beginnings of the Cistercian Order," loc. cit., 178f.; G. Müller, "Gründung der Abtei Cîteaux," loc. cit., 65; and Joseph Canivez, "Le rite cistercien," Ephemerides Liturgicae, 63(1949), 284.

retire to another place which the Divine Munificence will point out to you"[131] clearly indicates. The search was by no means an easy one. According to the *Exordium Cistercii*, it was only "after many labors and greatest difficulties that...they came at last to *Cistercium* (Citeaux)," at the time "a place of horror, and a vast solitude."[132] Situated in the diocese of Chalon-sur-Saône, it had been given to them by Raynald, the viscount of Beaune. The notice announcing the foundation reads,

> Let it be known to all present and future Christians that to gain remission of their own and of their ancestors' sins, Raynard, viscount of Beaune, and his wife named Hodierna as well as their sons Hugh, Humbert, Raynard, Hagano and their sister Raimuldis, gave to the lord Robert and to the brethren who, together with him, wished to observe the Rule of St. Benedict more strictly and more

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[131] *Exordium Parvum*, II; J. Van Damme, *op. cit*., 6. Cf. also above, n. 117. The *Exordium Magnum*'s account "ad locum, quem proposito suo congruum iam ante per gratiam Dei praeviderant, id est heremum, quae Cistercium dicebatur, alacriter tetenderunt,"--*Exordium Magnum*, XIII; B. Griesser, *op. cit*., 65--ist not necessarily in conflict with the *Exordium Cistercii*, especially if one sees the emphasis on the *heremus*, i.e. the quality of the place.

[132] "Post multos labores ac nimias difficultates... tandem...Cistercium devenerunt, locum tunc scilicet horroris et vaste solitudines." *Exordium Cistercii*, I; J. Van Damme, *op. cit*., 22. The name *Cistercium* indicates that the place was on this side of the third milestone--*cis tertium* (*lapidem milliarium*)--of the Roman road connecting Langres with Chalon-sur-Saone. The stone itself was at Dijon, some fifteen miles to the north. Cf. A. King, *op. cit*., 3ff. For other etymological explanations of *Cistercium*, see Gregor Müller, "Gründung der Abtei Citeaux," *loc. cit*., 74f. Cf. also *idem*, "Der Name Cistercienser," *Cistercienser-Chronik*, 17 (1905), 46ff. and 137.

> faithfully than they had done heretofore, of their allod which had been called Cistercium whatever they and their God-serving successors needed for the construction of the monastery and the monastic workshops as well as for the cultivation of the land and for every other need.[133]

At the new monastery the Cistercian pioneers were at last able to put into practice "what they had unanimously conceived in their mind."[134] Though the extant documentary evidence is quite meager, it is possible--with the help of the Exordium Cistercii and the authentic letters of the Exordium Parvum--to trace the basic features of their reform. They are, briefly: return to the strictness of the Benedictine Rule; solitude; poverty; rejection of traditional monastic observances; and, a certain exclusiveness. To elaborate, here is what the documents reveal:

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[133] "Notum sit omnibus Christicolis presentibus atque futuris quod Rainardus Belnensis vicecomes et uxor ejus Hodierna nomine et eorum filii Hugo , Humbertus, Rainardus, Hagano eorumque soror Raimuldis, pro suorum peccatorum remissione antecessorumque suorum domno Roberto et fratribus qui cum eo Regulam sancti Benedicti artius atque fidelius quam illuc usque tenuerant, observare cupiebant, contulerunt de predio suo quod antiquitus Cistercium vocabatur, quantumcumque ipsis et eorum successoribus Dei famulis, ad monasterium et monasterii officinas construendas, ad arandum quoque, immo ad omnem usum necessarium fuerit." J. Marilier, op. cit., 50 n. 23. More on Raynald is found in Maurice Chaume, "Les anciens vicomtes de Beaune et la fondation de Cîteaux," Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Arts et Belles-Lettres de Dijon. Bulletin de Mai 1923 (Dijon: Imprimérie Jobard, 1923), II, 73ff. Cf. also A. Manrique, op. cit., I, 9.

[134] "Communi consilio communi perficere nituntur assensu." Exordium Cistercii, I; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 22.

In the renowned and prosperous abbey of Molesme a number of monks came to the realization that "although they lived in a holy and honorable manner, they obeyed the Rule they had professed [to observe] less than was their desire and intention."[135] In the words of the papal legate, Hugh of Lyons, "they had observed the Rule of St. Benedict poorly (tepide) and neglectfully in that monastery."[136] Perceiving this conflict between the prescriptions of the Rule and their actual way of life, "they began to talk among themselves how they ought to do justice to the words 'I shall render to you the vows which my lips uttered!"[137] They decided they must "serve God according to the Rule of Saint Benedict" which they "pledged to follow, from now on, more strictly and more perfectly."[138] The legate sanctioned "this holy endeavor"[139] and further described it, in his letter to Pope Paschal II, as "a more rigorous (arcior) and more holy life following the Rule of St. Benedict which they had professed to observe."[140]

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[135] "Advertentes etsi sancte et honeste viveretur, minus tamen pro sui desiderio atque proposito ipsam quam professi fuerant regulam observari." Exordium Cistercii, I; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 21.

[136] "Regule beatissimi Benedicti quam illuc hucusque tepide ac negligenter in eodem monasterio tenueratis, arcius atque perfectius inherere velle." Exordium Parvum, II; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 6.

[137] "Inter se tractant qualiter illum versiculum adimpleant Reddam tibi vota mea q(ae) d(istinxerunt) l(abia) m(ea)." Exordium Cistercii, I; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 22. Reference is made to Psalm 65:14.

By the time of the Lyons meeting it had become evident, however, that "because of many hindering circumstances this aim could not be accomplished...in the aforementioned place."[141] With the legate's approval the reformers--"twenty-one monks, together with the father of that monastery, Robert of blessed memory"[142]--thereupon "left the community of Molesme," not for any worldly reason, but "because of the religious life."[143]

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[138] "Hugo lugdunensis archiepiscopus et apostolice sedis legatus, Roberto molismensi abbati, et fratribus cum eo secundum regulam S. Benedicti deo servire cupientibus." Exordium Parvum, II; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 6. In the same letter the legate continues, "Notum sit vos...Regule beatissimi Benedicti...arcius deinceps atque perfectius inherere velle;" ibid.

[139] "Vobis...hoc sanctum propositum servare, et tunc consuluimus, et ut in hoc perseveretis precipimus." Exordium Parvum, II; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 6.

[140] "Sciatis autem eos...de Molismensi ecclesia cum abbate suo exeuntes, propter arciorem et sacratiorem vitam secundum regulam divi benedicti quam promiserunt tenendam." Exordium Parvum, XII; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 11.

[141] "Quod quia in loco predicto pluribus impedientibus causis constat adimpleri non posse." Exordium Parvum, II; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 6.

[142] "Viginti et unus monachi una cum patre ipsius monasterii, beate videlicet memorie Roberto, egressi." Exordium Cistercii, I; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 22.

Preferring "to engage in the study of heavenly things rather than be implicated in secular transaction,"[144] they migrated to Citeaux, "a desert,"[145] "a wilderness [and] a wasteland of howling desert,"[146] far from frequented sites, where they could "adhere to the Lord more undisturbedly."[147] They "have left the broad roads of the world," Pope Paschal II himself attested, "in order to live in monastic tranquillity."

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[143] "A qua [Molismensi abbatia] religionis causa discesserant." Exordium Parvum, XI; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 10.

[144] "Elegerunt pocius studiis celestibus occupari, quam terrenis implicari negociis." Exordium Cistercii, I; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 21.

[145] "Inventam heremum in abbatiam construere ceperunt." Exordium Cistercii, II; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 22. Cf. also Exordium Parvum, VI, J. Van Damme, op. cit., 8: "si fieri possit, abbas ille ab heremo ad monasterium reducatur. Quod si implere nequiveris, cure tibi sit, ut qui heremum diligunt conquiescant, et qui in coenobio sunt regularibus disciplinis inserviant." According to J. Lefèvre, "It is evident, every diplomatic context proves it, that the word heremum cannot have the strict meaning of hermitage here, as juridically opposed to an abbey...It must be understood in the sense of a monastery established in solitude." "Que savons-nous de Cîteaux primitif?," loc. cit., 34.

[146] "Cistercium devenerunt, locum tunc scilicet horroris et vaste solitudinis." Exordium Cistercii, I; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 22. Reference is made to Deuteronomy 32:10.

[147] "Ibique salubrius atque quietius domino famulari." Exordium Parvum, II; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 6.

Accordingly, he told them "You must strive to keep always in your hearts the fear and love of God, so that the more free you are from the noises and pleasures of the world, the more you aim to please God with all the powers of your mind and soul."[148]

A secluded life alone, however, would not ensure the success of the reform; needed was also a better appreciation and cultivation of genuine poverty. The Cistercian pioneers were aware of this, for already at Molesme, a monastery "rich in possessions," these "lovers of virtue had begun to think about the fruitful poverty of men."[149] And in their new monastery they took "discipline and frugality"[150] so seriously that Hugh of Lyons saw in them authentic pauperes Christi, "poor of Christ, having no defense through riches or power against their adversaries."[151]

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[148] "Locum...inhabitandum pro quiete monastica elegistis." *Exordium Parvum*, XIV; J. Van Damme, *op. cit*., 12. Cf. *ibid*., "Vos igitur filii in X^{o} dilectissimi ac desiderantissimi meminisse debetis quia pars vestri seculares latitudines...reliquistis," and "Dei semper timorem et amorem in cordibus vestris habere satagite, ut quanto a secularibus tumultibus et deliciis liberiores estis, tanto amplius placere deo totis mentis et anime virtutibus anheletis." See also PL 157, 1294; S. Lenssen, *op. cit*., 23; E. Werner, *Pauperes Christi*, 26; U. Berlière, "Les origines de l'Ordre de Cîteaux," *loc. cit*., 450; C. Dereine, "Odon de Tournai," *loc. cit*., 153; and B. Bligny, "Les premiers Chartreux et la pauvreté," *loc. cit*., 33.

[149] "In episcopatu lingonensi situm noscitur esse cenobium nomine molismus...amplum possessionibus...Mox virtutum amatores, de paupertate fecunda virorum cogitare ceperunt." *Exordium Cistercii*, I; J. Van Damme, *op. cit*., 21.

[150] "In ea quam hodie observatis discipline ac frugalitatis observantia permanseritis." J. Lefèvre, "Que savonsnous du Cîteaux primitif?," *loc. cit*., 18.

The return to a stricter observance of the Rule necessitated also a rejection of traditional monastic practices. The papal legate clearly had this feature of the early Cistercian reform in mind when informing Pope Paschal, "they left the community of Molesme with their abbot, in order to lead a more rigorous and secluded life following the Rule of St. Benedict. In the observance of this Rule they have resolved in abandoning the usages of certain monasteries maintaining that in their weakness they are unable to bear such a great burden."[152] These--traditional--monastic ways, originating in Benedict of Aniane's reform as O. Ducourneau has demonstrated, had definitely altered the Rule of St. Benedict; hence they had to be discarded.[153]

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[151] "Paternitatem vestram humiliter et cum fiducia deprecamur, ut...eos et locum ipsorum ab hac infestatione et inquietudine liberando, auctoritatis vestre privilegio muniatis, utpote pauperes X^i nullam contra emulos suos divitiis vel potentia defensionem parantes." Exordium Parvum, XII; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 11. Cf. S. Lenssen, op. cit., 24.

[152] "Sciatis autem eos esse de quodam loco qui novum monasterium vocatur, ad quem de molismensi ecclesia cum abbate suo exeuntes propter arciorem et sacratiorem vitam secundum regulam divi benedicti quam promiserunt tenendam habitandum venerunt, depositis quorundam monasteriorum consuetudinibus, imbecillitatem suam ad tantum pondus sustinendum imparem iudicantes." Exordium Parvum, XII; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 11.

[153] Op. cit., 23ff.

This rejection added a further characteristic to the early Cistercian reform; J. Lefevre calls it intégrisme, a term he does not however define. We may interpret it as a certain intransigence and puritanism in the fidelity to the Rule, producing a marked contrast between the Cistercian and traditional monastic ways. In his letter to Paschal II, Hugh of Lyons described this "otherness" in these terms: "The brethren from Molesme and some other monks of the neighborhood do not cease to annoy and disturb them, thinking that in the eyes of the world they are valued less and looked upon with contempt if the world will take notice what exceptional and new kind of monks are living in their midst."[154] This clear differentiation between traditional monachism and the "exceptional and new kind of monks" is also evident from such expressions as "new monastery,"[155] "new cenobium,"[156] and

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[154] "Molismensis ecclesie fratres et quidam alii adiacentes monachi eos infestare et inquietare non desinunt, estimantes se viliores ac despectiores haberi apud seculum, si isti quasi singulares et novi monachi inter eos habitare videantur." Exordium Parvum, XII; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 11. Cf. J. Lefèvre, "Que savons-nous du Cîteaux primitif?," loc. cit., 37.

[155] "Dedimus etiam licentiam cum eo redeundi molismum omnibus illis de fratribus novi monasterii qui eum secuti fuerant." Exordium Parvum, VII; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 9. Cf. ibid., "[abbatia] quae novum monasterium dicitur." Cf. also "de quodam loco qui novum monasterium vocatur" (Exordium Parvum, XII; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 11), and "Venerabili alberico, novi monasterii abbati: (Exordium Parvum, XIV; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 12).

[156] "Interdicimus, ne cuiquam omnino persone liceat statum vestre conversationis immutare, neque vestri quod

"new monks,"[157] figuring prominently in the various documents of the Exordium Parvum. Pope Paschal II knew of this special feature of the Cistercian reform, as can be seen from his reminder to the early Cistercians in the so-called Roman Privilege, "You must, therefore, remember, sons most beloved and dearest in Christ, that one part of you has left the broad roads of the world, another even the less strict paths of a laxer monastery."[158] Moreover, he made this "otherness" a condition of papal protection for the monastery, "We decree that the place which you have chosen in order to live in monastic tranquillity, be secure and free...and that an abbey may exist there forever and be particularly sheltered through the protection of the Apostolic See...as long as you remain in the observance...you now follow."[159]

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novum dicitur cenobii monachos sine regulari commendatione suscipere." Exordium Parvum, XIV; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 12.

[157] "Molismensium fratres...eos infestare et inquietare non desinunt...si isti...novi monachi inter eos habitare videantur." Exordium Parvum, XII; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 11.

[158] "Vos igitur filii in X° dilectissimi ac desiderantissimi meminisse debetis quia pars vestri seculares latitudines, pars ipsas etiam monasterii laxioris minus austeras angustias reliquistis." Exordium Parvum, XIV; J. Van Damme, op. cit., 12.

[159] "Locum igitur illum quem inhabitandum pro quiete monastica elegistis, ab omnium mortalium molestiis tutum ac liberum fore sancimus, et abbatiam illic perpetuo haberi, ac sub apostolice sedis tutela specialiter protegi, quandiu vos ac successores vestri in ea quam hodie observatis discipline... observantia permanseritis." J. Lefèvre, "Que savons-nous du

These are the characteristic features of the Cistercian reform of 1098-1100. Since according to J. Lefevre chapter XV of the Exordium Parvum is "a literary amplification of the Instituta capituli generalis I, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII and IX of the second Cistercian codification promulgated in 1152,"[160] it will not be considered here an authentic source of the early Cistercian reform. But even without the information furnished by the chapter in question, the reform program of the Cistercian pioneers has sufficiently been established and verified, not as "a reform of...a particular monastery--i.e. Molesme--but of traditional monastic observances"[161] as such. And this in itself is a lasting testimonial to the originality and greatness of the Cistercian founders.

Cîteaux primitif?," loc. cit., 18. Cf. J. Turk, Cistercii statuta antiquissima, 43ff.

[160] J. Lefèvre, "Que savons-nous du Cîteaux primitif?," loc. cit., 33.

[161] Ibid., 40.

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The Eleventh Century Background of Citeaux

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The study of early Cistercian history, begun in earnest around the turn of the twentieth century by such pioneers as Gregor Müller, Ursmer Berlière and Othon Ducourneau, received a powerful impetus after the second World War, largely on account of the discovery of hitherto unknown ancient Cistercian manuscripts and the ensuing investigations of Joseph Türk, Jean Leclercq, Jean-Baptist Van Damme and, especially, Jean Lefèvre. As a result of their labors new knowledge was gained and with it came the advancement of untried and often conflicting theories and scholarly clashes. To find a way out of the confusion, Kolumban Spahr called for a critical edition of all relevant early Cistercian texts and, in line with it, for a determination of their chronological sequence. His prognosis, no matter how valid, remains however partial and limited as long as such hitherto neglected aspects of the Cistercian origins as the contemporary monastic milieu and what may be called the ideological background of Cîteaux are left unattended.

The importance of these factors is responsible for the research culminating in the present dissertation. It began with and developed from a paper prepared for Professor Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan's seminar on Cistercian history, and proposes to study in depth the factors just mentioned, in order to present the Cistercian origins in their full context and thus enable the historian to reach additional well-founded conclusions. The project called for a thorough consideration of the monastic forerunners of Citeaux--among them Benedict of Aniane, the first abbots of Cluny, and the great religious reformers of the eleventh century--and for the probing of such ideological inspirations as Eastern and Celtic monachism, the Gregorian Reform with all its implications, French conciliar legislation on monastic renewal during the second half of the eleventh century, and of relevant developments in the ascetico-theological field having a direct bearing on monastic life and on early Cistercian thinking. Attention had to be paid, finally, to the first decades of the Burgundian monastery of Molesme, which both produced and inspired the Cistercian pioneers. The outcome of these labors is the present thesis with its 432 pages, divided into seven chapters of some forty pages on the average, and followed by a bibliography of almost equal length.

An undertaking of such dimensions is by no means an easy task, and this not only because of its resolve to advance into hitherto unexplored territory. First of all, there was the problem of collecting a workable bibliography. Skeptics notwithstanding, it was possible to find a wealth of information in the libraries of Fordham University, the Union Theological Seminary, Southern Methodist University, the New York Public Library, and the Cistercian Abbey in Irving, and to obtain additional material through interlibrary loan arrangements. Next came the patient scrutiny of a great many seemingly unrelated details and their assembling into a comprehensive mosaic. Moreover, the project called for the treatment of a number of topics that could become full-fledged dissertations in their own right, without reducing them to mere surveys and their well-known advantages and drawbacks. Last but not least, one had to draw a line between fact and legend, especially in medieval hagiography, in order to utilize only sources of unquestioned reliability.

Following such guidelines, this lengthy investigation reached conclusions clearly disproving those who, for reasons of piety or out of ignorance, still like to believe an exclusive and specific early Cistercian Weltanschauung. Its findings unmistakeably lead to the conclusion that every major aspect of early Cistercian life--poverty, seclusion, disengagement from feudalism, fidelity to Saint Benedict and his Rule--was not an isolated phenomenon, but had its prototypes, one way or another, in a great number of contemporary and near-contemporary models ranging from Benedict of Aniane to the monastic and religious currents of the eleventh century. Cîteaux's originality lies therefore elsewhere: in the ability of its founders to discern and assimilate ideas of reform from a wide range of sources, in a way to answer contemporary as well as future needs. This was accomplished without succumbing to the then prevalent eremitic trend or to popular movements eventually ending in heresy. To the problems of a century beset by a "crisis of cenobitism" (Germain Morin) Cîteaux offered a solution which brought both renewal and a definite strengthening of Benedictine cenobitism.

VITA

Bede Karl Lackner, son of Stephen and Elisabeth Rutscher Lackner, was born on December 19, 1927 in Vaskut, Hungary. He attended Cistercian High School in nearby Baja, and was graduated in June, 1945.

Joining the Cistercian Order, he entered Zirc Abbey in August, 1946. After its suppression he went abroad and continued his philosophical and theological studies at Pontificium Athenaeum S. Anselmi in Rome, Italy, earning the degree of Bachelor of Theology, *cum laude*, in June, 1958.

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In May, 1960, he was accepted as a graduate student in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of Fordham University. Beginning his residency in September, 1961, he majored in Medieval History under the mentorship of Professor Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan.

Having taught on various levels of elementary and secondary education, he is currently on the faculties of the Cistercian Preparatory School and of the University of Dallas, both in the city of Irving, Texas.